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THE
LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.



THE
LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
TITUS POMPONIUS ATTICUS

IN SIXTEEN BOOKS



TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

WITH NOTES

BY

WILLIAM HEBERDEN, M. D. F. R. S.

VOL. I.

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TO THE
HONORABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND
SHUTE BARRINGTON
LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM
&c. &c.

MY LORD,
IN availing myself of Your Lordship's permission to inscribe to you the following volumes, I shall not offend your modesty by any attempt to proclaim to the world, what the world every where acknowledges, Your Lordship's eminent virtues. I shall be content if I can hide some part of my own deficiency in the splendor of so great and good a name.

Your Lordship is well acquainted with the originals, from which the following Translation is drawn. But while all fami-

liar letters must be liable to obscurity in proportion to our ignorance of the persons and circumstances, often of little notoriety, to which they allude; much more is it to be expected, that in a correspondence entertained at so remote a period, where there exist no remains of the letters on one side, and not unfrequently no record of the particulars which form their subject, many difficulties should present themselves, independent of those which are inseparable from customs and language long since gone into disuse. It is therefore no idle task to render documents, at once so curious and instructive, more extensively useful, by making them more generally understood. For whether we consider the matter, or the manner, of these letters, their author, or the time when they were written; they constitute in every point of view one of the most precious remains of antiquity. Cicero, as your Lordship knows, was not only the greatest orator of Rome; he was at the same time one of her wisest counsellors,

and one of her best citizens. To good natural parts he had added incredible industry, and had made himself master of all the literature and philosophy of the Greeks, then considered as the only source, and, exclusively of revelation, still the brightest source of good taste and right judgment. But while the learning of the Greek sophist was often suffered to waste itself in fruitless speculation, or self conceit ; Cicero's on the contrary, appears to have been constantly directed to the purposes of useful life, adding strength and grace to the manly powers of his mind. It regulated his judgment, and animated his exertions, in the Forum, and in the Senate, in the various and important offices which he executed with singular diligence in the Republic, and likewise in the discharge of those gentler duties of courtesy and friendship, to which he seems never to have been inattentive. For so occupied was his whole life, that it may well excite our wonder how he found time to write, or to read,

even a portion of those works which he composed and studied. His conduct in the height of his power, during his Consulship, is universally known, as well from contemporary histories, as from his own orations, which yet remain an illustrious monument of his prudence, of his diligence, of his eloquence. His administration of a provincial government is not less distinguished, and is collected chiefly from the evidence of these letters. It appears to have been every way judicious, and upright, and worthy of his high character. For in a situation, where other governors, removed from the danger of immediate observation, and unrestrained by the sanctions of a pure religion, had too generally given a loose to rapine, extortion, and violence; and had sacrificed honor, conscience, duty, every ornament, and every virtue, at the shrine of ambition and avarice; Cicero stands almost a single instance of unshaken justice, patriotism, and moral excellence.

But it would be tedious, and impertinent

to your Lordship, to attempt to enumerate all the particulars that made up the life of this extraordinary man. Our business is with his Letters. And it is difficult to conceive any memorials more worthy of regard, than the genuine letters of such a person, addressed to a most intimate friend, to whom he opened his bosom upon all occasions without reserve ; who, as he says himself, was “ his associate in public affairs, his confidant in all private ones, and admitted to all his conversation and thoughts.”¹ They present an undisguised account of his own sentiments and feelings under a great variety of circumstances, with his opinions upon almost all the great events, and great men, of his time. How highly they were valued by his countrymen, we learn from the testimony of Cornelius Nepos, who mentions “ the sixteen books “ of his letters to Atticus, from the time

¹ Qui et in publica re socius, et in privatis omnibus consiliarius, et omnium sermonum et consiliorum particeps. Ad Att. Lib. i. Ep. 18.

“ of his Consulship to his death;” and adds, that “ whoever should read them, would “ little need any other history of those “ times ; every thing being so clearly de- “ scribed respecting the zeal of parties, the “ vices of the leading men, and the changes “ of the Republic, that nothing remains “ unrevealed. And his wisdom,” says he, “ may well be thought to have something “ of divine inspiration ; for Cicero not only “ foretold what took place during his own “ life ; but also, what we now experience, “ he announced like a prophet.”² To Englishmen they derive an additional interest from breathing every where a rational love of liberty, and dread of tyranny,

² Sexdecim volumina epistolarum, ab Consulatu ejus usque ad extremum tempus, ad Atticum scriptarum ; quæ qui legat, non multum desideret historiam contextam illorum temporum. Sic enim omnia de studiis principum, vitiis ducum, ac mutationibus reipublicæ, perscripta sunt, ut nihil in his non appareat. Et facile existimari possit prudentiam quodammodo esse divinationem ; non enim Cicero ea solum, quæ vivo se acciderunt, futura prædixit ; sed etiam, quæ nunc usu veniunt, cecinit ut vates. Atticus, C. 16.

called forth by the peculiar crisis in which the Republic was placed, when it was about to sink for ever under the yoke of despotism. To Christians they afford occasion to cherish with more fervent gratitude those consolations and hopes of Revelation, that “ anchor of the soul, both sure, and steadfast,”³ from want of which we see the wisest of the heathen world become a prey to temporal calamities, and overwhelmed with despair.

Besides the contents of these letters, the style of their composition is itself deservedly an object of admiration ; a style free from all pedantry and affectation, from all levity and impertinence, perfectly easy and familiar, yet every where consistent with dignity and good manners ; or in the words of Cicero himself when speaking of Atticus, “ the language is chaste, interspersed “ with polite wit, and distinguished by “ marks of affection.”⁴ But these very

³ Epistle to the Hebrews, C. vi. 19.

⁴ Pure loquuntur, cum humanitatis sparsæ sale, tum insignes amoris notis. Ad Att. Lib. i. Ep. 13.

excellencies, while they enhance the value of the original letters, add in no small degree to the difficulty of a just translation. It has been my endeavour, in the first place, to give the true sense of the author ; then, to give it as little altered from the original, as the different genius of the languages would permit ; to preserve as much as possible of the Roman air, without destroying that ease, which gives to epistolary correspondence its best grace ; not attempting to modernise terms of civility, or to disguise old customs under new habits ; but wishing rather to familiarise the reader with ancient Rome. For I considered that these letters ought to appear, not as if Cicero had written in this age and country ; but as if English had been the language of Italy in his time : so that the sentiments and manners might still be Roman ; the medium only changed, through which they are expressed. To the letters I have added notes, which I have studied to make as few, as short, and as clear, as I could,

consistently with the object of rendering more easily intelligible, not only to the English reader, but to the scholar, the frequent allusions, the hints, and broken sentences, which occur. And though they have not been drawn up without considerable pains in perusing and weighing the opinions of different Commentators; yet I have generally thought it best to give simply my own judgment, without embarrassing the reader with my reasons.

I know not if any apology be required for having given the names of people with their Latin terminations. For what can be more absurd than an attempt to translate a mere personal designation? I have not scrupled therefore to write Pompeius, Antonius, &c. And it may reasonably be expected that the public taste, which is daily improving, will before long adopt this alteration from the present practice. If I have not always followed the same rule in regard to the names of places, it is because countries, belonging equally

to all times, seem not improperly to partake of the same changes, which obtain in the appellations of other common objects. While therefore I have preserved the names of persons unchanged, I trust I shall not be chargeable with inconsistency in adopting the English terms of Rome, Italy, and other places familiarly known in modern language.

But I have done. I have perhaps already trespassed upon your patience longer than I ought, were it not that under the cover of your Lordship's name I considered myself in some measure as addressing the Public. It only remains that I thank your Lordship for affording me this public opportunity of acknowledging my deep sense of the great and undeviating kindness with which you have honored me from a very early period of my life, and which derived originally, among many other blessings, from my dear and respected Father, your Lordship has permitted to grow up with my growth into familiarity and friendship.

DEDICATION.

xv

I have the honor to be, with great gratitude, esteem, and affection,

My LORD,
your Lordship's most obedient,
and faithful Servant,

W. HEBERDEN.

*Datchet,
October, 1825.*



THE
LETTERS OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
TITUS POMPONIUS ATTICUS.

BOOK I.
LETTER I.¹

(BEING THE FIFTH IN GRÆVIUS'S EDITION.)

You, who know me so well, may easily conceive what distress I have felt, and what a severe loss I have sustained, both in my public, and domestic concerns, by the death of my

¹ It is obvious that the best arrangement of any series of letters must be that of their dates. I have therefore not scrupled to adopt this order in regard to the first eleven letters of this book, which are generally acknowledged to have been very early misplaced. At the same time, to avoid any inconvenience that might arise from it, I have here, and elsewhere, as often as the same liberty has been taken, subjoined the number of each letter as it stands in Grævius's edition. This first, in the order of time, was written in the 685th year of Rome, corresponding to the 68th year before Christ, when Cicero was 39 years old.

relation² Lucius. For he possessed all the engaging qualities, which can arise from kindness and gentleness of manners. And I doubt not that you partake in this affliction, both from your regard to me, and because you have yourself lost in him a most accomplished connexion and friend, who was attached to you as well by his own inclination, as by my frequent mention of you. As to what you say about your sister, she shall be my witness how much pains I have taken to reconcile my brother Quintus to her.³ For, as I thought him unreasonably offended, I wrote to him in such a manner as might sooth a brother, and admonish one who was my junior, and reprove one who was in the wrong. And by the letters which I have since frequently received from him, I trust that all is again as it ought to be, and as we wish. With regard to my writing, you accuse me without reason : for Pomponia has never acquainted me with any opportunity of sending a letter ; neither has it happened to me to know of any body that was going to Epirus ; nor had I even heard that you were yet at Athens. As soon as I came to Rome

² Lucius Cicero was cousin german to Marcus : the term *frater*, like the Greek *αδελφος*, being subject to considerable latitude of signification. See Book II. Letter VII. n. 5.

³ Quintus Cicero, the younger brother of Marcus, had married Pomponia, Atticus's sister.

after your departure, I dispatched the business of Acutilius, which you had entrusted to me ; but it turned out that there was no need of exertion ; and being persuaded of the sufficiency of your own judgment, I chose that Peduceus, rather than I, should give you an opinion by letter. For after having several days heard what Acutilius had to say (with whose manner of prosing I presume you are acquainted), I should hardly have thought much of writing to you upon the subject of his complaints, when I had not scrupled (which was no pleasant task) to listen to them. But while you accuse me, remember that I have received but one letter from you ; though you have had so much more leisure for writing, and so many more opportunities of sending your letters. When you tell me that if any body⁴ were offended with you, it was my business to appease him ; mind what you say : I have not neglected that also. But he is strangely irritated. I have not however omitted any thing that was to be said on your part. But how far it was to be urged, I thought it best to be determined by your wishes ; which if you will only let me know, you shall find that I have not chosen to be more forward, than you would be yourself, nor shall I be more remiss than

⁴ This alludes to some offence taken by Luceius, of which more appears in Letters VI. and VII.

you may desire. Tadius has informed me respecting his affair, that you had written as if there was now no occasion to be uneasy, because the inheritance was secured by prescription.⁵ I was surprised you should not have known, that in a legal guardianship, under which the girl is said to be placed, no prescription can be established. I am glad you are pleased with your purchase⁶ in Epirus. I should wish, as you mention, that, as far as you can without inconvenience, you would attend to the commission I gave you ;⁷ and in such a manner as you may judge suitable to my Tusculan villa. For, after all my troubles and fatigues, it is there I find repose ; where I am now daily expecting my brother. Terentia⁸ is affected with severe pains in the joints : she has a great regard for you, and your sister, and mother, and wishes your best health, as does my darling Tullia.⁹ Take care of yourself, and continue to love me, and believe me to love you as a brother.

⁵ The term of undisputed possession, which confer'd a prescriptive title among Roman citizens, was by the XII Tables fixed at two years for landed property, and one year for personal property.

⁶ Atticus had purchased an estate near Buthrotum in Epirus.

⁷ This commission appears by the subsequent Letters, to have been directed to the purchase of statues.

⁸ Terentia was Cicero's wife.

⁹ Tullia was Cicero's daughter.

LETTER II.

(GRÆV. VI.)

I WILL hereafter give you no occasion of charging me with neglect of writing. Do you only take care that, in your abundant leisure, you are even with me. Rabirius's house at Naples, which you had already measured and completed in your mind, has been purchased by M. Fonteius for 130,000 Sestertia (£1083)¹

¹ In this, and other parts of this translation, I have retained the Latin terms of Sestertii and Sestertia, because different interpreters might estimate them differently: at the same time, for the convenience of the English reader, I have subjoined what I suppose to be the amount in pounds sterling. The expression H-S (((1))) XXX is generally agreed to mean 130,000; in which case the first characters (signifying 100,000), are to be understood of Sestertii; while the tens imply 30 Sestertia, each containing 1000 Sestertii. And these different characters are usually so applied. Thus H-S ((1)) ((1)) CCCC, and H-S X X C D, which we find in the 3d and 4th Letters, are equally expressive of 20,400, the former being Sestertii; the decimal part of the latter, Sestertia. The value of Roman money is deduced from the actual value of the Denarius, which is to be met with in all collections, and is worth about eight pence English. Hence it follows that the Sestertius (two Asses and a half, or a quarter of the Denarius) is equivalent to two pence; and a thousand Sestertii to £8. 6s. 8d.

In order to reduce the Sestertii to English pounds, it is

I wished you to be acquainted with this, in case it should any way affect your plans. My brother Quintus seems to be disposed towards Pomponia, as we could wish, and is now with her at his estate near Arpinum; where he

only necessary to divide by 120. The characters expressive of their number are usually (1) 1000 ((1)) 10,000, (((1))) 100,000, each additional pair of marks increasing the number tenfold.

The same letters H-S likewise are used to denote Sestertia, to which the figures X, &c. being added, seem to signify not only "decem," &c., but more commonly "decies," &c., the adverb being 100 times the value of the corresponding adjective.

The following table exhibits at one view the denominations of the Sestertia, and the corresponding value in English money.

	£	s.	d.
One thousand Sestertii, - -	8	6	8
H-SX (10) Dena Sestertia, - -	83	6	8
H-SL (50) Quinquaginta Sestertia, -	416	13	4
H-SC (100) Centum Sestertia, - -	833	6	8
H-SD (500) Quinquies Sestertiûm, -	4,166	13	4
DC, &c. Sexies (600), Septies (700), Octies (800), Novies (900).			
H-SX (1000) Decies Sestertiûm, -	8,333	6	8
XX, &c. Vicies (2000), Tricies (3000), Quadrages (4000).			
H-SL (5000) Quinquages Sestertiûm, -	41,666	13	4
LC, &c. Sexages (6000), Septuages (7000), Octoges (8000), Nonages (9000).			
H-SC (10,000) Centies Sestertiûm, -	83,333	6	8
H-SD (50,000) Quingenties Sestertiûm, -	416,666	13	4
H-S (1) (100,000) Millies Sestertiûm, -	833,333	6	8

has with him D. Turranius, a man of excellent acquirements. My father died the 24th of November.² This is the sum of what I had to say to you. If you should be able to meet with any ornaments of the gymnasiac kind,³ which would suit that place which you know, I should be glad if you would secure them for me. I am so charmed with my Tusculan villa, that I feel then only satisfied with myself when I get there. Let me know all that you do, and all that you intend to do.

LETTER III.

(GRÆV. VII.)

ALL is well with your mother,¹ for whom I entertain a great regard. I have engaged to pay

² This, which appears abrupt or unfeeling, loses that character when we consider that it must probably have been said either in reply to some inquiry of Atticus; or as specifying the date of an event previously known, or at least expected.

³ *γυμνασιωδη*, that is, such statues, and other marbles, as were erected in the gymnasia, or public schools in Greece, and would be suitable to Cicero's favorite retreat near Tusculum, where he had built rooms and galleries in imitation of the schools and porticos of Athens, and which he likewise called by their Attic names of Academia and Gymnasium, and designed for the same purposes of philosophical enquiry.

¹ That this is spoken of Atticus's mother, not of Cicero's,

L. Cincius² 20,400 Sestertii (£170.) on the 13th of February. I should be glad if you would take care to let me have the things you have purchased and provided for me, as soon as possible. And I wish you would consider, as you promised, how you can complete my library. All hope of the pleasure to which I look forward when I shall have come into retirement, is placed in you.

LETTER IV.

(GRÆV. VIII.)

EVERY thing is as we could wish at your house. Your mother and sister are held in the greatest esteem by me and my brother Quintus. I have had some conversation with Acutilius. He denies that any thing had been written to him by his agent; and is surprised that any dispute should have arisen. The security which he demanded, is no longer required from you. I have understood that Tadius is very thankful, and highly pleased with what you mention of

appears from the frequent mention he makes of the former; while his silence respecting his own mother affords reason to believe she may have died early. Atticus's mother lived to be 90 years old. C. Nepos, c. 17.

² L. Cincius appears to have been the agent employed in purchasing marbles for Cicero.

having compromised the affair of his family. That friend of mine,¹ who is indeed a good man, and very friendly to me, is seriously angry with you. When I know how much you regard this, I may be able to judge what pains I should take in it. I have provided for L. Cineius 20,400 Sestertii (£170.) for the Megarie statues. The Mereuries of your Pentelie marble with bronze heads, about which you wrote to me, already delight me exceedingly; and I should be glad if you would send them, and the other statues, and whatever else you may judge suitable to the place, and to my studies, and to your taste, as many, and as soon as possible; especially what you think proper for my gymnasium and portico: for I am transported with such a fondness for these sort of things, that while I request you to assist me, I must expect others to blame me. If Lentulus's ship is not ready, let the things be embarked in any other you please. My darling Tulliola² is anxious for your present, and calls upon me as a surety: but it is safer for me to swear off, than to pay.

¹ Luceius.

² Such diminutives expressive of endearment, are not uncommon in other languages, especially in Italian. Of all Latin authors, Catullus has made the most frequent use of them, and often with singular beauty.

LETTER V.

(GRÆV. IX.)

I HEAR from you too seldom ; though you can much easier find people going to Rome, than I can to Athens ; and you may be more sure of my being at Rome, than I can of your being at Athens. This letter is therefore the shorter, owing to my uncertainty : for being doubtful where you might be, I was unwilling that this our familiar conversation should fall into strange hands.

I am anxiously expecting the Megarie statues and Mereuries, about which you wrote to me. Whatever of the same kind you may have, which you think fit for my Academy, do not hesitate to send it ; and trust to my purse. These sort of things are my delight. I particularly want such as are most suitable to my gymnasium. Lentulus promises the use of his ships. I request your diligent attention to these matters. Chilius asks you (and I too at his desire) for an account of the national customs of the Eumolpidæ.¹

¹ The Eumolpidæ were a family of Thracian origin, consecrated to the service of the Eleusinian mysteries at Athens, τῶν τῆν τελετῆν αὐτοῖς καταρῆσαμενῶν Εὐμολπίων.

LETTER VI.

(GRÆV. X.)

WHILE I was in my Tusculanum (this is in return for that of yours—"While I was in the Ceramicus"¹); however, while I was there, a servant sent by your sister from Rome, gave me the letter which had been brought from you, and said that he was to set out the same afternoon on his return. Hence it is that I determined to write something in answer to your letter, and am compelled by the shortness of the time to write but a few lines. In the first place, I will engage to appease, or even fully to reconcile our friend;² which although I did before in some measure, of my *Βαγβαρς και Θρακος ονλος*, (Lucian Demonax, 34). What may be the exact meaning conveyed by the general term *παργια*, it is not easy to say. It may however be observed, contrary to the interpretation of some commentators, that considering the secrecy always observed in regard to these mysteries, and that Cicero was himself one of the initiated, it can hardly be supposed that he would concur in any request to Atticus to reveal them.

¹ Ceramicus was the name of a district in the suburbs of Athens, which among other buildings contained the Academy, whose maxims were adopted by Cicero. In this, and the other letters, I have adopted the Latin expressions Tusculanum, Pompeianum, &c. signifying his house near Tusculum and Pompeii.

² Luceius. See Letter vii.

own accord, yet I will now set about it with more earnestness, and will urge him more strongly, since I perceive by your letter how great a stress you lay upon it. But I would have you understand that he is very deeply offended. Still, as I see no serious cause for it, I have great confidence that he will be moved by a sense of what is right, and by my authority.

I should be glad to have my statues and Hermeracles³ embarked as soon as you have an opportunity, and any thing else you may find proper for the place you know; especially what you think suitable to my palæstra and gymnasium. For I am sitting there while I write, so that the place itself reminds me. I commission you besides to procure some reliefs, which may be introduced into the cieling of the anti-room; and two figured puteals.⁴

³ It is not obvious to conceive how the two figures of Mercury and Hercules, or Minerva, indicated by the terms Hermeracles, and Hermathena, could be combined in one statue. May it have been a stone case surmounted with a head of Mercury, and containing an image of Hercules, or Minerva? Such are described by Plato in his *Συμπόσιον*, where Alcibiades compares Socrates to “those figures of Silenus in the sculptors’ shops, which open in the middle, “and exhibit images of the gods,” *τοῖς σείληνοῖς τῆτοις ἐν τοῖς ἔρμογλυφείοις καθήμενοις—οἱ διχαδὲ διοιχθέντες φαίνονται ἐνδοθεν ἀγάλματα ἐχούλης θεῶν.* Ed. Ficin. p. 1202.

⁴ *Putealia sigillata.* These are usually supposed to have been the tops of wells, resembling some marbles still

Take care that you do not engage your library to any body, however eager a lover of such things you may meet with: for I reserve all my gatherings for the purpose of providing that resource for my old age.

Respecting my brother, I trust that things are as I have always wished, and have studied to make them. There are many reasons to believe it; and not the least is, that your sister is pregnant.

As to what regards my Comitia,⁵ I both remember that I excused you, and have long since declared this to our common friends who are expecting you. I shall not only not summon you, but shall forbid you. For I know that it is of much greater importance to you, that you should do what is to be done at this time; than it is to me, that you should be present at the Comitia. Therefore I would have you make up your mind, as if it were on my business that you were sent into that country. And you will find me towards you, and hear of me, found among the ruins of ancient Italy. But it does not seem very probable that wells should be made a subject of ornament; and the real design of these marbles is not clearly made out. Perhaps it should be written *plutealia*, as it is in some editions, signifying "sculptured eases," to hold manuscripts, or other library apparatus.

The Comitia here alluded to must have been held for the election of prætors, for which office Cicero was at this time a candidate.

in case of any success, as if it were gained, not only in your presence, but by your means. Tulliola appoints you a day: she calls upon your surety.⁶

LETTER VII.

(GRÆV. XI.)

I ACTED first of my own accord, and have since been much excited by your two letters written to the same purpose. In addition to which, Sallustius¹ has been constantly exhorting me to do my utmost with Luceius towards restoring your ancient friendship. But after all I could do, I have not only not been able to recover that good will which he used to bear you; but not even to elicit the cause of his altered disposition. Although he speaks of that arbitration of his, and the things which, before you left us, I understood had given him offence; yet there is something that has sunk deeper in his mind, which neither your letters,

⁶ These law terms are evidently introduced by Cicero in playful reference to his daughter's expectation of a present, which Atticus had promised to send her. Some would read; "she does not call upon your surety." The difference is of little moment.

¹ This Sallustius was a friend of Cicero's, not the historian of the same name.

nor my assurance, can so easily erase, as you can remove it in person, not only by conversation, but by your own familiar countenance; if only you think it worth while; which you certainly will, if you take my advice, and act consistently with your natural kindness. You must not be surprised, if I before signified to you by letter that I hoped to find him tractable, and now appear to distrust. But it is incredible how determined his mind seems to be, and fixed in this angry mood. But this will either be set right when you arrive; or will make him very uneasy, whichever is in fault.

As to what you say in your letter, that you suppose I am already elected; you must know that nothing at Rome is so vexatious, as the iniquitous proceedings against the candidates; nor is it known when the Comitia will take place. But you will hear all about this from Philadelphus. I should be glad if you would send as soon as possible what you have got for my Academy. Not only the actual enjoyment, but the very thought of that place delights me wonderfully. Remember not to give up your books to any body; but keep them, as you say, for me. I entertain the strongest affection for them, as I do now disgust for every thing else; for it is not to be believed in how short a time how much worse you will find things, than you left them.

LETTER VIII.

(GRÆV. III.)

KNOW that your grandmother is dead from want of you,¹ and from fear lest the states² of Latium should not be steady in their duty, and should fail to bring the victims to Mount Albanus. I imagine L. Saufeius³ will send to console you upon this event. We are expecting you here in January, either from common report, or from what you may have written to others; for to me you have written nothing about it. The statues which you have procured for me are landed at Caieta. I have not seen them; for it has not been in my power to

¹ By this expression Cicero gently reproaches his friend on account of his long absence.

² It must be supposed that this relates to some seruples and apprehensions which this old lady had expressed, and which may probably have been a subject of jest between the two friends. The ceremonies alluded to are those of the Latin festival, which used to be celebrated every year in memory of the union of the different neighbouring states of Latium. By the word *Latinæ* I understand *gentes*, or *civitates*, not *mulieres*; for it does not appear that women had any part to perform there.

³ This L. Saufeius appears to have been a philosopher of the Epicurean sect, who placed their chief happiness in their ease. It is upon this depends the smartness of Cicero's observation, writing to one of the same persuasion.

leave Rome. I have sent a person to pay the freight. I am much obliged to you for having managed this so well, and so reasonably.

As to what you have repeatedly said about appeasing our friend, I have done, and tried every thing; but his mind is wonderfully estranged on account of certain suspicions, which, though I imagine you have heard, yet, when you arrive, you shall know from me. Sallustius, who is here, I have not been able to restore to the place he held in his affection. I mention this to you, because he used to accuse me on your account: but he has found by his own case that he is very inexorable, and that my attention to you has not been deficient. I have engaged my dear Tullia in marriage to C. Piso, son of Lucius Frugi.

LETTER IX.

(GRÆV. IV.)

You raise in us perpetual expectations of your arrival. Lately, when I supposed you to be coming, we were suddenly put off till July. Now however I imagine, as far as you can do it with convenience, you will really come at the time you mention. You will thus be at my brother Quintus's Comitia;¹ we shall meet

¹ Quintus Cicero was a candidate for the office of Edile at the ensuing Comitia.

again after a long interval; and you will be able to conclude the business of Acutilius.² For this purpose Peduceus has also requested me to write to you; for we are of opinion that it is desirable you should at length bring this affair to a conclusion. My intercession is, and has long been, prepared.

I have concluded the business of C. Macer with great and distinguished applause. And while I have done him every justice, have yet derived much greater advantage from the approbation of the people, upon his condemnation; than I could have done from any return on his part, had he been acquitted.

As to what you write to me about the Hermathena, it is exceedingly grateful to me, and an ornament proper for my Academy; Mercury being the common emblem of all schools, and Minerva the particular one of that school. I should be glad therefore, as you say, to have you contribute as many other things as possible to the embellishment of that place. The statues you before sent me I have not yet seen:³ they are at Formianum, where I am

² It is uncertain what this business was. It is spoken of in the first Letter.

³ It may be thought singular that Cicero, who had expressed such a strong passion for these marbles, should not have found time to visit them; but it is probably to be accounted for by his being at this time one of the Prætors, whose duties obliged him to reside in the city.

now intending to go. I shall transport all those things to Tusculanum. Should I ever begin to overflow, I will decorate Caieta. Keep your books, and do not despair of my being able to make them mine; which if I accomplish, I shall exceed Crassus in riches, and look down with contempt upon the houses and lands of all the world.

LETTER X.

(GRÆV. I.)

OF my canvas, in which I know you take a lively interest, this is the state, as far as can yet be foreseen. P. Galba alone is beginning to solicit votes; he is refused without ceremony or disguise. People think that this premature canvassing is not unfavourable to my cause: for he very generally meets with denials under pretence of persons being under obligation to me. So I hope I may derive some advantage from it, as by this means the opinion spreads of my having many supporters. I had intended to begin canvassing in the Campus Martius, at the Comitia for electing Tribunes, the 17th of July, at the very time

* Caieta is probably the same as Formianum, under a different name. Caieta being a sea port, and Formiæ the name of a town at a short distance from it inland.

when I understood from Cincius that your servant was to set out with this letter. My competitors, which seem to be certain, are Galba, and Antonius, and Q. Cornificius. I imagine you will either smile, or grieve at this. To enrage you quite, there are some who even think of Cæsonius. I do not apprehend Aquilius will offer; for he denies it, and has sworn that he is ill, and has objected his judicial supremacy. Catilina will be a certain competitor, if it be determined that the sun does not shine at mid-day.¹ I imagine you do not expect me to take notice of Aufidius and Palicanus.

Of those who are in nomination for this next year, Cæsar² is thought secure. The contest is supposed to lie between Thermus and Silanus, who are so poor in friends, and in reputation, that it seems to me not impossible to bring in Curius: but this opinion is peculiar to myself. It appears most conducive to my cause that Thermus should be returned with Cæsar: for of those who are not the present candidates, there is nobody who seems likely to be a more powerful opponent, if he should withdraw into my year; because he has the charge of the

¹ That is, if it be determined to shut the eyes against his iniquitous proceedings, which are as clear as the meridian sun.

² This Cæsar was Lucius Julius Cæsar, a distant relation of "The mighty Julius."

Flaminian road, which will easily be completed by that time. I should therefore gladly see him now Cæsar's colleague.³

Such is the opinion hitherto formed of the candidates. I shall take care to use the greatest diligence in executing every part of a candidate's duty; and possibly, since the Cisalpine Gaul⁴ has considerable weight in voting, when the forum at Rome is a little cooled from its judicial causes, I may run down in September, as a lieutenant to Piso,⁵ so as to be back in January. When I shall clearly have discovered the disposition of the nobles, I will write to you. The rest I hope will go smoothly, with only the present city competitors. Take care to engage for me, since you are nearer to them, that troop of our friend Pompeius. Tell him I shall not be angry with him, if he does not come to my election. So much for this business.

But there is one subject on which I am very anxious to have your forgiveness. Your uncle

³ There is evidently some error in the text. I have given what appears to be the sense intended.

⁴ Cisalpine Gaul was the ancient name for Lombardy: those who had passed through the first magistracies in the towns south of the Po, had a right of voting in the assemblies of the Roman people.

⁵ These lieutenantcies appear to have been fictitious offices, under the plea of which the senators of Rome used to visit the provinces with a certain degree of authority.

Cæcilius, having been defrauded of a considerable sum of money by P. Varius, commenced an action against his brother Caninius Satrius for the property, which he said he had received from Varius by a fraudulent transfer. Other creditors were parties in the same action; amongst whom was Lucullus, and P. Scipio, and L. Pontius, who they supposed would be appointed administrators, if the goods were sold. But it is absurd now to speak of an administrator. Cæcilius requested me to support him against Satrius. Now, there is scarcely a day that this Satrius does not come to my house. His first attention is to L. Domitius; his next to me. He was of great service to me, and my brother Quintus, in our canvasses. I am very truly embarrassed, both on account of my intimacy with Satrius, and with Domitius, on whom, above all, my present success depends. I explained this to Cæcilius; and at the same time assured him, that if the dispute lay between them two alone, I would comply with his wishes; but that now, in the general cause of all the creditors (people especially of the first authority, who, without Cæcilius's appointing any body in his own name, could easily maintain their common cause) it was reasonable that he should consider the obligations and circumstances under which I lie. He seemed to receive this more harshly than

I could wish, or than gentlemen use to do; and afterwards he entirely brake off the intercourse between us, which had been a few days established. I have to beg that you will not take this ill of me, but will consider that I was prevented by common humanity from coming forward in the time of his distress against the high reputation of a friend who had exerted all his efforts and kind offices to serve me. Or if you are disposed to pass a harsh sentence upon me, you will suppose it was my ambitious views that stood in the way. But I think, even if it were so, that I should still deserve to be forgiven; considering that this occasion is no trifling one. For you see in what progress we are, and how important it is not only to retain, but to acquire the good will of all people. I hope I have proved my case; I certainly wish it.

Your Hermathena delights me exceeding y; and it is so well placed, that the whole gymnasium derives a lustre from it, as from the sun.⁶ You have my best affections.

⁶ The original is a little obscure. I have expressed what I conceived to be the true meaning.

LETTER XI.

(GRÆV. II.)

IN the consulate¹ of L. Julius Cæsar and C. Marcius Figulus, know that I have a son born, and that Terentia is going on well. No letter from you after so long a time?² I before sent you a particular account of the state of my interests. I am at present thinking to undertake the defence of my competitor Catilina.³ The judges are such as we could wish, and with the full consent of the accuser.³ I hope, if he should be acquitted, to have him the more friendly in the business of my canvass. Should it fall out otherwise, we must bear it with patience. I have great need of your speedy arrival; for it is the general opi-

¹ The Romans designated their years by the names of the Consuls.

² This is the same Catilina whose conspiracy Cicero afterwards defeated with so much applause in his consulate. Catilina was at this time charged with peculation in Africa. There is no doubt but Cicero's object was to promote his own election by the co-operation of Catilina's connexions, which were numerous, and among the first families of Rome. He however changed his mind, and did not defend him.

³ His accuser was Clodius, who appears to have accepted a bribe to betray his own cause.

nion that some noble⁴ persons of your acquaintance will oppose my success. I foresee that you can be of the greatest use in conciliating their good will towards me ; therefore do not fail to be at Rome in January, as you have appointed.

[*Between the eleventh and twelfth Letters of this Collection must have intervened a period of more than three years, during which the correspondence is interrupted, owing, as it should seem, to Atticus's having come to Rome to assist Cicero in his election, and remaining there with him through the period of his consulship.*]

LETTER XII.

THAT Trojan woman¹ is a slow business : nor

⁴ None of Cicero's ancestors having been ennobled by holding the higher offices of the state, it is on this account that he was sometimes taunted with the appellation of a "new man." The same cause excited the jealousy of the nobles towards him, whom they looked upon as an ambitious and popular upstart.

¹ Teucris illa. The person thus designated is universally agreed to be that C. Antonius, who had been colleague with Cicero in his consulate, and whom Cicero had gained by voluntarily resigning to him the valuable province of Macedonia, to which Cicero would otherwise have been appointed upon going out of office. Various conjectures have been formed about the term here applied to him, which, as it probably relates to some private understanding between Cicero and Atticus, must ever remain

did Cornelius afterwards return to Terentia.² I think we must have recourse to Considius, Anius, Selicius;³ for the nearest relations cannot extract money from Cæcilius at less than twelve per cent.⁴ But, to return to my first subject: I have known nothing more shameless, more cunning, more sluggish than her.⁵ "I send one of my freedmen"—"I have given directions to Titus"—mere pretexts and delays! But it may be that fortune orders things better than we ourselves: for Pompeius's

obscure. It seems to be a contemptuous expression, used in imitation of the Greek feminines, which were sometimes applied to men, and which Pope has thus rendered in his Homer—

"O, women of Achaia, men no more."

So afterwards (Letter xiv.) we find Cicero using the term "filiola Curionis," meaning "the effeminate son of Curio."

² Terentia, we know, was Cicero's wife. Cornelius was Quæstor to Antonius, and by what follows seems to have been employed by him to deceive Terentia with false promises of repaying some money perhaps advanced by Cicero.

³ These may probably be the names of usurers.

⁴ Centesimis. The Latin indicates one per cent.; but it is to be remembered that the Romans calculated their interest not by the year, but by the month. The Calends and Ides, that is, the beginning and middle of each month, being the usual times of payment.

⁵ I have thought it right still to pervert the original expression in the feminine, as it relates to Antonius under the character of the Trojan woman.

forerunners tell me that he will openly propose that Antonius should be superseded ; and at the same time the Prætor will bring it before the people. It is an affair of that kind, that I cannot honourably defend the man with the good esteem either of the respectable part of society, or of the populace ; nor do I choose to do it, which is most of all ; for a circumstance has occurred, which I send to you entire, that you may see the nature of it. I have a freed man, a good for nothing fellow, Hilarus I mean, the accomptant, and a client of yours. Of him Valerius the interpreter⁶ relates the following account ; and Chilius writes me word that he has heard the same ; that this fellow is with Antonius ; and that Antonius, in making his exactions, gives out that a part is demanded for me, and that this freed man is sent by me to look after the common plunder. I am not a little disturbed, though I can hardly believe it ; but there has certainly been some conversation to this effect. Pray investigate the whole ; enquire, learn, and, if you can by any means, remove the scoundrel from those parts.⁷ Valerius mentioned Cnæus Plancius as his authority for this report. I earnestly beg you

⁶ The Romans thought it a point of dignity in their public capacity always to speak in their own language, and to hear foreigners through an interpreter.

⁷ Macedonia, near to which Atticus resided.

will see what all this is. It appears that Pompeius is very friendly to me: his divorce of Mueia⁸ is much approved. I imagine you have heard that P. Clodius, the son of Appius, was detected in women's clothes at the house of Caius Cæsar, while the religious ceremonies for the people⁹ were going on, and that he was saved, and conducted out by the hands of a servant girl; that it is an affair of great scandal, which I know you will be sorry for. I have nothing more to tell you. And in truth I have been a good deal distressed; for Sositheus, my reader, a pleasing youth, is lately dead; which has disturbed me more than the death of a slave ought to have done. I hope you will often write to me: if you have nothing to say, say what comes uppermost. The first of January, in the consulship of M. Messala and M. Piso.¹⁰

⁸ Mucia had been married to Pompeius, and was now divorced, as it is said, on suspicion of adultery with Cæsar.

⁹ This alludes to the secret ceremonies held annually in honour of the Bona Dea, or Good Goddess, for the safety of the Roman people.

¹⁰ The Consuls entered upon their office on the kalends, or first day, of January; and by their names the years were afterwards distinguished.

LETTER XIII.

I HAVE NOW received three letters from you, one through M. Cornelius, which I imagine you delivered to him at the Tres Tabernæ;¹ another, which your guest Canusinus brought me; the third, which, as you mention, you gave from the vessel after the anchor was weighed: which were all letters of a master: they speak in a chaste style, are interspersed with pleasant humour, and distinguished by marks of affection. These letters might well excite me to write in return; but I have been the more dilatory from want of a trusty messenger; for how few are there who can carry a letter of any weight, without lightening it by a perusal!² Besides this, I do not always know when any one goes to Epirus; and I conceive that, having slain your victims before Amalthea,³ you would immediately go to lay siege

¹ Tres tabernæ, or the Three Taverns, a place near Rome, on the Appian road, familiar to Christians by being mentioned in St. Paul's journey to Rome, Acts xxviii. 15.

² As the English language permitted, I have thought it right to preserve this humble jest, which may find a place in a familiar letter.

³ Amalthea. This is the name given to the goat, fabulously supposed to have nourished Jupiter, and whose horn was afterwards made the emblem of plenty. From the

to Sicyon. Nor am I by any means certain when you go to Antonius, or how long you mean to stay in Epirus ; so that I do not care to trust letters of a confidential kind either to Greeks,⁴ or to Epirots. Since your departure some things have occurred deserving of notice, but not to be exposed to the risk of my letter's being either lost, or opened, or intercepted.

You must know then in the first place, that I was not the first called upon for my opinion,⁵

latter circumstance, the word *Amalthcum* was adopted by Cicero to designate the library of Atticus in Epirus, rich in variety of learning. Here Cicero uses the original word, as if the sacred goat was the divinity of the place ; and he means to say, that, after enjoying himself amidst his books, he conceives Atticus would go to Sicyon, perhaps to claim some money due to him, as renter of the tributes. See Letter xix.

⁴ After Greece became subject to the Romans, it was divided into two provinces of Achaia and Macedonia ; of which the former included the whole of Greece proper. It appears from Cicero's Familiar Letters (Lett. iv., v., &c.) that Ser. Sulpicius, as governor of Achaia, had jurisdiction over the Peloponnesus, Attica, Bœotia, Thessaly, and Epirus : therefore Plinius calls it—"Achaiam, illam veram et meram Græciam." And Pausanias says—*καλεσι δε ουχ' Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλ' Αἰχαιας ἡγεμονα οἱ Ῥωμαιοι, διοτι εχειρωσαντο Ἑλληνας δι' Αἰχαιων, τοτε τε Ἑλληνικε προεσηκοτων.* L. vii. And this extended sense is to be given to the word *Αἰχαια*, when it occurs in the New Testament, as in Acts xviii. 12 ; and again, ch. xix. 21 ; also 1 Cor. xvi. 15.

⁵ It seems to have been the custom for the Consul,

and that the peace-maker of the Allobroges⁶ was put before me, which was done amidst the murmurs of the Senate, but without any reluctance on my part; for I am thus freed from all obligation towards a perverse man;⁷ and at liberty to maintain my own dignity in the state in spite of his wishes. And this second place of delivering my sentiments, carries with it nearly the same authority as the first, while it leaves the judgment unfettered by any obligation towards the Consul. The third is Catullus; the fourth (if you wish to know that too) Hortensius. But the Consul himself is of a narrow and poor spirit, an ill-natured snarler of that sort, which even without raillery is laughed at; ridiculous rather from his features, than his wit;⁸ concurring in nothing

upon first entering into office, to call upon the consular senators for their opinion in what order he thought proper; which order was observed during the remainder of the year.

⁶ By this expression is to be understood Caius Piso, who had presided over the province of Gallia Narbonensis, in which the Allobroges dwelt.

⁷ Marcus Piso, a relation of the former, and one of the new Consuls.

⁸ In the original there is a play upon the words *facie* and *facetiis*, which, as it is impossible to preserve in the translation, so neither would it be desirable, unless for the purpose of exhibiting a juster character of Cicero's manner towards his intimate friend.

with the State ; separated from all the principal people ; from whom one can expect no good to the State, because he wishes it no good ; and from whom one need fear no harm, because he dares not commit it. His colleague⁹ is very attentive to me, and a follower and supporter of the best parties. There is besides some little disagreement between them : but I fear lest that which is diseased in the State may spread further ; for I suppose you have heard that, while the sacred ceremonies for the people were performing at Cæsar's house, a man came there in female dress ; and when the vestal virgins had renewed the sacrifice, mention was made of it in the Senate by Q. Cornificius. He was the first ; that you may not suspect any of us. Afterwards the affair was, by a decree of the Senate, referred to the pontiffs, and it was determined by them to be sacrilege. The Consuls then, by another decree of the Senate, published an edictment, and Cæsar sent his wife a bill of divorce. In this cause Piso, induced by his friendship with P. Clodius, uses his endeavours that this edictment, which he himself prefers, and prefers by order of the Senate, and for the sake of religion, may be set aside. Messala is hitherto very strenuous for measures of severity. Good men are kept away by the entreaties of Clo-

⁹ M. Messala.

dus ; ruffians are provided ; and I myself, who had been a very Lycurgus at the beginning, am daily softened down. Cato is instant and urgent. In short, I am afraid lest these matters, neglected by the good, and supported by the wicked, may be the occasion of serious evils to the Republic. But that friend of yours (you know whom I mean ;¹⁰ about whom you wrote to me, that when he no longer dared to find fault, he began to commend) makes a show of great regard for me ; salutes me, loves me, openly praises me ; secretly he envies me : there is nothing kind in him, nothing candid, nothing disinterested in his politics, nothing illustrious, nothing brave, nothing liberal. But these things I will detail to you more particularly some other time ; for they are not yet sufficiently known to me ; nor do I care to entrust to this fellow, of whom I know nothing, a letter about things of such importance. The Prætors have not yet had their provinces allotted them : the business is in the same state in which you left it.¹¹ The geographical position of Misenum and Puteoli, which you require, shall have a place in my speech. I had observed that the date of the third of December

¹⁰ Cn. Pompeius is probably the person here intended.

¹¹ Q. Cicero had been one of the Prætors, which made this circumstance of some interest both to Cicero and to Atticus, the one his brother, the other his brother in law.

was wrong. The parts of my speeches which you commend, I assure you, pleased me very much; though I did not before venture to say so. But now that they have your approbation, they appear to me more truly Attic.¹² I have added something to the speech against Metellus.¹³ The book shall be sent to you, since your kind regard for me has given you a taste for oratorical writings. What news shall I send you? what? The Consul Messala has bought Autronius's house for 437 Sestertia¹⁴ (£33,600.) What is that to me? you will say; only that in comparison with this purchase, I must be judged to have laid out my money prudently; and people have begun to understand that, in buying, it is very allowable to use the assist-

¹² The Attic manner of writing, and speaking, was always considered as the most perfect model.

¹³ The tribune Metellus had been active in opposing Cicero, charging him with having put citizens to death without a trial.

¹⁴ If the text be correct, the amount in English money would be about £3642. But there is great reason to suspect some error, such as may easily be made in transcribing figures; for Cicero mentions this purchase as a justification of his own conduct in borrowing money for a house in Rome, for which it appears by his Familiar Letters that he gave 3500 Sestertia, or near £30,000. (Ep. F. v. 6.) It seems probable therefore, that instead of CCCXXXVII it ought to be written either (1) (1) (1) (1) XXXVII, which would be equivalent to £33,644, or XXXVII (tricies septies, 3700) equivalent to 30,833.

ance of one's friends, in order to attain some respectability.¹⁵ That Trojan woman is a slow business; but however there is some hope. Do you bring these matters to a conclusion. You may expect to hear from me again with more freedom. January 27, in the consulship of M. Messala and M. Piso.

LETTER XIV.

I AM afraid you will be tired of hearing how much I am engaged; but in truth I have been so busy, that I have scarcely had time for this short letter, and that has been snatched from important occupations. I mentioned in a former letter¹ Pompeius's first harangue; that it was not acceptable to the poor, that it appeared spiritless to the wicked, unsatisfactory to the rich, undignified to the good: in short, it was a cold performance. Afterwards, at the instigation of the Consul Piso, that inconsiderate tribune Fufius brought Pompeius forth to the assembly of the people. The business

¹⁵ This passage is illustrated by reference to the 39th chapter of the first Book of the Offices, where Cicero speaks of the respect attached to a person's residence—*adhibenda commoditatis aignitatisque diligentia.*

¹ This letter is lost.

was conducted in the Flaminian Circus;² and the same day, in that very place, was a fair held. He enquired of him whether he approved of the judges being chosen by the Prætor in the affair of Clodius's sacrilege; which judges the same Prætor was to use as his council; as it had already been appointed by the Senate. Upon which Pompeius spoke quite aristocratically; replying, that the authority of the Senate on all occasions had now, and always, the greatest weight with him; and this he professed at great length. Afterwards the Consul Messala enquired of Pompeius in the Senate, what he thought of the offence to religion, what of the edictment announced. He spoke in such a manner in the Senate, as to commend generally all the acts of that body; and said to me, as he sat by me, that he thought his answer contained a sufficient reply to the questions proposed to him. Crassus, perceiving that it gained him applause to have it supposed that he was pleased with my consulate, rose up, and spoke of my Consulate in the handsomest manner, saying, that he owed it to me that he was a senator, that he

² Pompeius having applied for the honour of a triumph, was obliged to conform to the custom of residing beyond the walls of Rome till that was over. It was therefore in compliment to him that the meetings of the people, and of the Senate, were at this time held out of the city.

enjoyed his freedom, and his life ; that as often as he saw his wife, his home, his country, so often he saw blessings derived from me : in short, all those topics of fire and sword, which I use variously to represent in my speeches (you, who are my Aristarchus and critic, know those repositories of ornaments) he interwove with great effect. I was sitting next Pompeius, and observed him to be moved ; whether it was that Crassus should have gained the applause, which he had missed ; or that my deeds should be so esteemed, as to obtain the ready concurrence of the Senate to the praises bestowed upon them, especially by one who owed it me the less, because, in all my letters in commendation of Pompeius, he had been lightly spoken of. This day much attached me to Crassus : and whatever was given covertly, I willingly acknowledged from him openly. But as for myself, ye Gods ! how I exulted before my new hearer, Pompeius ! If periods and inflections, if deductions and arguments, ever availed me, it was then : in short, there were general cheers : for the subject was, of the dignity of the Senate, the unanimity of the knights, the consent of all Italy, the expiring remains of the conspiracy, of plenty and peace. You know my powers on such materials : they were so exerted, that I am the more brief,

because I imagine they must have been heard even as far as you.

But this is the state of affairs at Rome. The Senate is our Areopagus:³ nothing can be more firm, nothing more upright, nothing more strenuous; for when the day was come for bringing forward the impeachment, according to the decree of the Senate, there were collected youths scarcely bearded, the whole herd of Catiline, with the effeminate son of Curio at their head, demanding of the people to set aside the impeachment. Even Piso, the Consul, who had proposed it, was now exerting himself against it. The Clodian mob had got possession of the passages; and voting-papers were furnished so, that none might be given signifying assent. Here then Cato rushes to the rostra,⁴ and utters a most severe reproach on the Consul Piso, if that can be called reproach, which is full of dignity, full of authority, full of wholesome counsel. Our

³ ἀρειος παγός. This is the well known council at Athens, before which St. Paul afterwards spake. It was celebrated for its justice. It may be observed that Cicero, in his Letters to Atticus, makes the more frequent use of Greek terms, both because the language was familiar to Atticus, and because he was often resident in Greece.

⁴ It is hardly necessary to observe, that the Romans used to address the people in their assemblies from a raised pulpit, called the rostra.

friend Hortensius follows to the same place, and many other good men ; but the assistance of Favonius was particularly distinguished. In this concourse of principal persons the assembly is dismissed ; the Senate is convoked ; when it was decreed, in a full house, (while Piso was contending against it, and Clodius was entreating at the feet of each individual) that the Consuls should use their authority with the people to admit the impeachment. Fifteen voted with Curio against passing the decree ; on the other side were at least four hundred. The thing was concluded. Fufius, the tribune, then gave way. Clodius made some pitiful addresses, in which he treated Hortensius, C. Piso, and the Consul Messala with great disrespect ; me he only charged with having found out⁵ everything. The Senate determined that nothing should be done respecting the provinces of the Prætors, the embassies, and other business, till the impeachment should have been brought forward. Here you have the history of the Roman affairs. But yet I must tell you also what I had not hoped for : the Consul Messala is excellent, brave, firm, diligent, and extols, loves, and imitates me : the other is by one fault the less

⁵ Cicero, it seems, had used an expression of this kind on the occasion of the Catilinarian conspiracy ; and it was afterwards thrown in his teeth in derision.

faulty ; in that he is indolent, sleepy, inexpert, incapable of business ; but in will so ill disposed, that he began to hate Pompeius ever after that meeting in which he praised the Senate. He has therefore wonderfully alienated from him all the best people ; nor is he induced to act thus more by friendship towards Clodius, than by a love of ruinous and factious measures. But he has nobody among the magistrates like him. With the exception of Fufius, we enjoy a good set of tribunes ; and Cornutus is another Cato. But now, to return to private matters, the Trojan woman has made good her promises. Do you accomplish the commissions which you have undertaken. My brother Quintus, who has purchased the remaining three quarters of the Argiletan building for 725 Sestertia (£6000.), is desirous of selling his Tusculanum, in order to buy, if he can, Pacilius's house. I want you to be reconciled to Lucceius. I see him very desirous of it, and will lend my assistance. Let me know exactly what you are doing, where you are, and how things are going on. The 13th of February.

LETTER XV.

You have heard that the province of Asia¹ has fallen to my dear brother Quintus ; for I doubt not but common report has brought you this intelligence swifter than any friend's letter. Now, as you know I have always been very greedy of praise ; and am, and am esteemed, beyond all men attached to the Greeks ; and have incurred much obloquy and enmity in the cause of the Republic ; do you therefore "call to mind all your prowess,"² and by your management contrive that I may be praised and loved by every body. Upon this subject I will write more to you in the letter I shall send by Quintus himself. I should be glad if you would

¹ The provincial Asia was situated in the western part of Asia Minor. Generally speaking, Asia Minor was called Asia.

² The original is taken from a verse of Homer. Cicero means to request that Atticus, who was invited to be lieutenant to Quintus, would exert himself to render the Greeks of Asia Minor favourable to him ; and that he should do so, he offers three reasons : 1st. that he was fond of praise from all men ; 2ndly. that he had himself always shewn a partiality towards the Greeks ; and 3rdly. because he was apprehensive lest the enemies he had made by his vigorous conduct in his consulship, might endeavour to injure his reputation abroad. Atticus however refused to accept the appointment of lieutenant.

let me know what you have done about my commissions ; and what also about your own business ; for since your departure from Brundisium, no letters from you have been delivered to me. I want much to know how you do. March 15.

LETTER XVI.

You ask me what happened at the trial, that the issue should have been so contrary to all expectation ; and at the same time you desire to know how it happened that I battled less than usual. I shall answer you the last first, like Homer.¹ For, as long as the authority of the Senate required my support, I fought with such eagerness and vehemence, as to excite shouts and acclamations greatly to my honour. And if ever you thought me strenuous in the public cause, you would certainly have admired me upon that occasion ; for when he had recourse to his declamations, and in them used my name invidiously, ye immortal Gods ! what fighting, what execution did I exhibit ! What attacks did I make upon Piso, upon Curio, upon the whole crew ! How did I

¹ Homer begins his *Ilias* near the conclusion of the Trojan war, and afterwards introduces an account of the earlier part.

assail the levity of the old, the wantonness of the young! often did I want you, so help me Gods! not only as an adviser of my plans, but as a witness of my extraordinary exertions. But after Hortensius had devised that the tribune Fufius should bring in the law respecting the sacrilege, (in which there was no other difference from the consular indictment, excepting in the condition of the judges; though in that was every thing), and was earnest that it might be so done; having persuaded himself, and others, that no judges could absolve him; I contracted my sails, knowing well the inefficiency of such judges; and I said nothing in my evidence but what was so well known, and attested, that I could not omit it. If therefore you ask me the reason of the acquittal (to revert now to your first question), it was the neediness and baseness of the judges: and that it should so happen, was occasioned by Hortensius's proposal; who, fearing lest Fufius's intercession might put a stop to the progress of the law, as decreed by the Senate, did not perceive that it was better to have him left in disgrace and ignominy, than entrusted to an unsound court of judgment. But prompted by his hatred, he hastened to bring the matter to a trial, saying, that even before a leaden sword he must needs fall. But if you ask what were the circumstances of

this judgment, which had so incredible an issue; I answer, such, that the counsel of Hortensius, which now from the event is censured by others, was by me censured from the very beginning. For as the rejection of a judge is made with the greatest applause, when the prosecutor, like an upright censor, rejects persons of bad character, and the defendant, like a kind master of gladiators, selects the most temperate; here, on the contrary, as soon as the judges sat down together, all honest men began to have sad misgivings;² for a baser set never met together in a common gaming house: senators of stained reputation, ruined knights, and tribunes not debtors, so much as receivers.³ There were however a few honest men among them, whom he could not remove by rejection, who sat downcast and mournful among people most unlike to themselves, and seemed afraid of being infected by the contagion of their infamy. Here, as each charge was submitted to this council, in the first enquiries, there appeared a surprising severity, without any difference of opinion: the defendant had obtained nothing; more was

² The foregoing sentence has been differently, but I think wrongly understood, by commentators.

³ Intimating that they were both ruined and bribed. The sense is rendered in some measure obscure for the sake of the poor antithesis of *æрати* and *æраrии*.

even granted to the prosecutor than he asked ; Hortensius, in short, was exulting that he should have managed so well. There was nobody who did not think him guilty, and a thousand times condemned. Upon my being brought forwards as a witness, I imagine you will have heard from the acclamation even of Clodius's advocates, what rising of the judges took place, how they surrounded me, how openly they exposed their throats to P. Clodius for my security : which I consider a much greater honour, than that which was shewn to Xenocrates, whom your countrymen prevented from swearing when he gave his testimony ; or that of our judges, who refused to look at the accounts of Metellus Numidicus, when they were brought round as usual. What was done to me, I say, is much greater. So that by the voice of his judges, when I was so defended by them as the safeguard of the country, the culprit was confounded, and all his supporters shrunk at once : and the next day the same concourse came about me, as had conducted me home on resigning the consulship. The noble Areopagites⁴ cried out that they would not come forward unless a guard was appointed. It was submitted to the council : one voice alone was against having a guard. The affair was brought before the Senate : it was decreed

⁴ The term is here used in derision.

with great dignity and liberality : the judges were commended ; the business was entrusted to the magistrates : nobody thought the man would make any reply. Say now, ye Muses, how the fire was first kindled.⁵ You know Baldhead,⁶ him of the Nannecian estates, that panegyrist of mine, whose speech I mentioned to you so full of my praise. In two days he accomplished the whole business by means of a single slave, and him taken from the school of the gladiators. He sent for the judges to come to him ; he promised, he entreated, he bribed. Nay more, O ye Gods ! such a profligate business ! even the enjoyment of certain women, and the introduction of young men of family, were made to enhance the price offered to some of the judges. Thus, in the general absence of all honest men, while the forum was filled with slaves, there were still twenty-five judges so firm, that, in face of the greatest danger, they chose rather to perish, than to ruin every thing : there were thirty-one, who were more moved by famine, than by fame : one of whom Catulus meeting, said to him ;

⁵ The original is quoted from Homer.

⁶ Baldhead—in the original *Calvus* ; which, besides meaning bald, as I have expressed it, was the name of a considerable family in ancient Rome. Here it is used in mockery for Crassus. What is the exact signification of *ex Nannejanis*, commentators are not agreed.

“ What made you ask us for a guard? were you
“ afraid of having your money taken away?”
You have here, as shortly as I could give it
you, the nature of the trial, and the reason of
the acquittal.

You ask further what is the present state of
public affairs, and how I am affected. Know
then, that the constitution of the Republic;
which you thought my counsels, I thought
divine Providence,⁷ had confirmed; which
seemed to be fixed and consolidated by the
union of all good men, and the authority of
my consulship; unless some God have com-
passion upon us, has slipped from our hands by
this single judgment: if it can be called a
judgment, that thirty of the lowest and most
profligate of the Roman people, by the effect
of bribery, should extinguish all right and jus-
tice: and, what not only all men, but all ani-
mals, know to have been done, that Talna,
and Plautus, and Spongia, and such scoundrels,
should determine not to have been done. But
yet, that I may offer you some consolation on
the part of the Republic, wickedness does not
exult in its victory with that alacrity which
some miscreants had hoped, after this wound
which has been inflicted on the State; for they

⁷ I doubt not these expressions have a reference to the
doctrines of Epicurus against a superintending Providence;
Atticus, as is well known, being of that sect.

fully thought, when religion and modesty, when the faith of judgments, and the authority of the Senate had fallen, that then wickedness and licentiousness, being openly victorious, would exact of every honest man vengeance for the pain which every villain had suffered by the severity of my consulship. And I, that same person (for I need not fear the reproach of vain-gloriousness in speaking of myself to you, especially in a letter, which I wish nobody else to read) myself, I say, have revived the drooping spirits of good men, encouraging and rousing every one: and by persecuting and harassing these corrupt judges, I have snatched all insolence from all the supporters and favourers of that victory. I have never suffered the Consul Piso to be at peace in any thing: I have taken away from the man the province of Syria, already promised him; I have recalled the Senate to its former severity, and have roused it from its despondence. Clodius I have crushed when he was present in the Senate, both by a continued speech full of dignity, and by altercation, of which you may taste a few specimens; for the rest can neither have their force, nor elegance, from want of that spirit of contention, which you Greeks call *αγωνα*. For when we met in the Senate on the 15th of May, being called upon for my opinion, I entered at length upon the general state of the Republic,

and seemed to be inspired when I brought in that head of my discourse: "that the conscript Fathers,⁸ on the receipt of a single wound, should not be dejected, should not faint; that it was a wound of such a kind, as ought neither to be dissembled, nor to be feared; lest we should be thought either cowards, by being alarmed at it, or stupid, by not being sensible of it: that Lentulus had been twice acquitted; twice Catiline; that he now was the third let loose upon the public by his judges. You are mistaken, Clodius; the judges have reserved you not for the city, but for a prison; and have wished not to retain you in the State, but to deprive you of banishment. Therefore, conscript Fathers, raise up your spirits, maintain your dignity: that concord of all good men yet remains in the Republic: they have felt pain, but their courage is unabated: no new evil has been created; but what was there before, has been brought to light: in the trial of one abandoned man, several have been found like him." But what am I doing? I have almost included my speech in my letter. I return to our altercation. The pretty⁹ boy gets up, and

⁸ The senators were usually addressed by this title.

⁹ Pulcher, "handsome," was one of the names of the Claudian family, from which Clodius descended.

objects to me that I had been at Baiaë.¹⁰ “It is not true: but what if it were? Is it the same,” added I, “as if you were to say I had been in concealment?”¹¹ “What,” says he, “has a fellow of Arpinum¹² to do with hot baths?” “Say this,” replied I, “to your patron,¹³ who longed for the baths of Arpinum.” (For you know the Marinæ.¹⁴) “How long,” says he, “shall we bear this king?” “Do you venture to pronounce the word king,” said I, “when he whose name was king did not so much as mention you in his will?” (For he had devoured the inheritance of Rex in his expectation.) “You have been buying a

¹⁰ Baiaë was celebrated for its warm baths, and frequented by the voluptuous.

¹¹ This, no doubt, alludes to Clodius's concealment in disguise at the ceremonies of the Bona Dea.

¹² Arpinum, a place about sixty miles E. S. E. from Rome, where Cicero was born.

¹³ It has been generally supposed that Cicero, by this expression, meant the sister of Clodius, who wanted to have connected herself with Cicero. I think it more likely that he should have meant Crassus: but the particular circumstances, and private histories of those remote times, are not sufficiently preserved to enable any person to speak with confidence about it.

¹⁴ The meaning of this passage has been much disputed. I incline to believe it a parenthesis addressed to Atticus, signifying perhaps some salt spring near Arpinum, or some villa thence denominated.

“ fine house,” says he. “ One would think,” said I, “ you were accusing me of buying the “ judges.” “ They would not trust you,” says he, “ even on your oath.” “ Nay but,” said I, “ five and twenty did trust me: the other one “ and thirty did not trust you, for they took “ care to receive their money before hand.’ Overwhelmed by continued shouts, he sunk down, and held his tongue. My situation is this. Among the good, I am just as you left me; among the filth and dregs of the city, much better now, than you left me; for it is no prejudice to me, that my evidence should seem to have had no effect. Their ill disposition has been let blood without any pain to me; and the more so, because all those supporters of that iniquity, acknowledge that a very clear case was bought off from the judges. In addition to this, that wretched and hungry rabble, who hang about the popular assemblies, like a leech, eager for money, imagine that I am much esteemed by this Magnus.¹⁵ And indeed we are united together by a frequent and pleasant intercourse to such a degree, that those our revellers in conspiracy,¹⁶ half-bearded youths, in their conversations call him Cnæus¹⁷

¹⁵ A title known to belong to Pompeius.

¹⁶ This may probably refer to some designation familiar to the private conversation of the two friends.

¹⁷ Cnæus was Pompeius’s prænomen.

Cicero. Therefore in the games and shows I carry off wonderful marks of favour, without any shepherd's pipe to intermingle its hissing.¹⁸ The public attention is just now directed to the Comitia for the election of Consuls. Our Magnus, against the wish of every body, thrusts forwards the son of Aulus;¹⁹ and in conducting this business, he endeavours to gain his cause, neither by authority, nor by favor, but by those means with which King Philippus said he was able to take any castle, into which an ass laden with gold could get up. It is said that a certain Consul has undertaken the affair, like Doterio²⁰ the player; and that he has people in his house to distribute money; which I do not believe. But there have lately been made two hateful decrees of the Senate, which are supposed to be directed against the Consul, on the requisition of Cato and Domitius: one, that it might be lawful to search the houses even of magistrates on informations of bribery; the other, that any body, who had distributors of money in his house, should be

¹⁸ The *pastoritia fistula* of the original, might perhaps resemble a modern cat-call.

¹⁹ This is supposed to be Afranius, a man of no pretensions for such an appointment.

²⁰ Much doubt has been entertained about the true reading, and the meaning of this word; which however is of little moment. The Consul here spoken of is Piso.

considered as an enemy to the State. Lurco, one of the Tribunes of the people, who entered upon his office at the time of the Ælian law, has been set free from the operation both of the Ælian and Fufian law, that he might introduce another on canvassing at elections; which, lame as he is,²¹ he has promulgated under prosperous omens. So the Comitia are put off to the 27th of July. The novelty in the law is this: that any body who shall have promised money in his tribe, if he have not given it, shall be exempt from penalty; but if he have given it, he shall have to pay to each tribe three thousand Sestertii²² (£25.) annually, as long as he lives. But mark you; do you perceive how my consulate, which Curio before called a deification, will, if this man be elected, become a mere puppet-show?²³ Therefore I believe we must content ourselves with our philosophy, as you do; and disregard these affairs of consulships. as unworthy of notice.

As to what you tell me, that you have determined not to go into Asia, I should rather have wished that you did go; and cannot but fear that some unpleasant consequence may

²¹ Any personal defect was considered as inauspicious.

²² The number of the tribes was thirty-five.

²³ The Latin *fabam mimum*, if it be correct, is not now intelligible. I have given what I conceive to be the general signification.

arise from that circumstance.²⁴ At the same time I cannot blame your determination, especially after having declined to accept a province myself. I shall be content with your epigrams, which you have placed in the Amaltheum; especially since Chilius has left me, and Archias has written nothing.²⁵ But having already composed a Greek poem in honor of the Luculli, I am afraid he will now turn his attention to the story of the Cæcili. I returned thanks to Antonius in your name, and delivered the letter to Manlius. I have hitherto written to you the less frequently, because I had no proper person to whom I could intrust my letters; nor did I sufficiently know what I should intrust to them. Farewell. I have now made you amends. If Cincius²⁶ refers to me any business of yours, I will readily undertake it; but he is just now more occupied in affairs of his own, in which I shall not be backward in assisting him. If you are likely to be stationary, you may expect often to hear from me; but do you also write frequently. I wish you

²⁴ The difficulties which Cicero apprehended actually took place, owing to his brother's taking ill this refusal, on the part of Atticus, to serve under him in the capacity of lieutenant.

²⁵ Cicero had wished that one of these poets should have written on the subject of his consulship.

²⁶ See Letter III. note 2.

would describe to me your Amaltheum, how it is situated, how it is fitted up ; and that you would send me any poems, and stories you possess on the subject of Amalthea.²⁷ I should like to make one at Arpinum. I will send you something of my writing ; at present there is nothing finished.

LETTER XVII.

I PERCEIVE from your letter, and from the copies of my brother Quintus's, which you sent with it, a great alteration in his disposition and sentiments towards you ; which affects me with all that concern, which my extreme love for you both might be expected to produce ; and I wonder what can have happened, that should occasion to my brother Quintus either such deep offence, or such changeableness of mind. I had already observed, what I saw that you also suspected at the time of your departure, that some unfavorable impression had arisen, and that he was hurt in mind, and harboured certain unfriendly suspicions ; which, though I before often wished to

²⁷ Amalthea is properly the fabulous name of the fabulous goat, which was said to have nourished the infant Jupiter : it is therefore rightly expressed in this place. But Atticus's library was denominated Amaltheum. See Lett. XIII. note 3.

heal, and especially after the allotment of his province; yet I was not aware that the offence he had conceived was so great as your letter declares; nor were my endeavours attended with the success that I hoped. But yet I consoled myself with the consideration, that I did not doubt but he would see you either at Dyrrachium, or somewhere in those parts; and whenever that happened, I trusted, and persuaded myself, that every thing would be amicably settled between you, not only by discourse and explanation, but by the very sight and meeting of each other. For what kindness there is in my brother Quintus, what cheerfulness, how tender a disposition both to conceive and to lay aside offence, it is needless for me to mention to you, who are well acquainted with it. But it has happened very unfortunately that you have not seen him any where. For what the malevolence of certain persons has suggested to him, has had more influence, than either his duty, or his relationship, or the former affection between you, which ought to have great weight: and it is easier to guess, than to declare, where the blame of this misfortune lies: for in defending my own relations, I am afraid of appearing harsh towards yours.¹ For this is my feeling upon the

¹ From hence one may see that Cicero thought Pomponia to blame.

subject, that though no wound may have been inflicted by those of his own household, yet they certainly might have healed that which was already received. But the fault of this whole affair, which extends even something further than appears, I can better explain to you when we meet. Respecting the letter which he wrote to you from Thessalonica, and the language which you imagine he held with your friends at Rome, and upon his journey; what foundation there be for it, I know not; but all my hope of removing this vexation rests in your kindness. For if you consider, that the minds of the best men are often irritable, and at the same time placable; and that this sensibility, as I may call it, and tenderness of nature, is generally a sign of goodness; and, what is the chief of all, that we ought mutually to bear with the ill humours, or faults, or offences of each other; these differences, as I hope, will easily be composed: and that you may do so, I earnestly entreat you: for it is of the greatest concern to me, who sincerely love you, that there should be no one of my connexions who either does not love you, or is not loved by you. That part of your letter was by no means necessary, in which you explain what opportunities of advantage either in the provinces, or in the city, you have foregone, as well at other times, as during my

Consulate :² for your ingenuousness and greatness of mind are well known to me. Nor have I ever thought there was any difference between us, except in the line of life we adopted ; in as much as a certain ambition has led me to the pursuit of honours ; whilst a different, but most irreproachable, scheme of life, has conducted you to an honorable retirement. In that true praise of sincerity, of diligence, of scrupulous adherence to duty, I set neither myself, nor any body else before you : and in affection towards me, when I go beyond brotherly and domestic attachments, I attribute the first place to you. For I have seen, and throughly known, on various occasions, both your solicitude, and your joy, on my account. And often has your congratulation on my success been delightful to me, and your support in my fears most grateful. Nay, at this time, from your absence, I feel a want not only of counsel, in which you excel, but of that intercourse of conversation, which I enjoy with peculiar relish in your company. What shall I say ?³ In business of the State ? in which it is

² It is to be supposed that Cicero, during his consulship, would not fail to offer his assistance in procuring for Atticus any appointment he might wish to hold.

³ The sense I have given to this passage is not agreeable to the usual punctuation ; but appears to me most consonant to Cicero's ordinary manner of writing, and most suitable to the context.

not allowable for me to be negligent : or in the fatigues of the forum ? which formerly I undertook for ambition's sake ; now, that I may be able by favor to maintain my dignity : or even in domestic concerns ? in which both before, and particularly since the departure of my brother, I want you, and our conversations. In short, neither my labor, nor my rest, neither my business, nor my idleness, nor forensic, nor domestic affairs, nor public, nor private, can any longer proceed without your sweet and friendly counsel and conversation. From the mention of these things modesty has often restrained us both. But it has now been rendered necessary by that part of your letter, in which you study to clear and justify yourself and your conduct. And amidst the embarrassment arising from his alienated and offended mind, this however has happened fortunately, that your resolution of declining all provincial employments has been known, and occasionally professed by you to me and others of your friends ; so that your not being together may appear to be the effect not of any disagreement and rupture between you, but of your inclination and judgment : whence, I trust, those sentiments which have been violated, will easily admit of expiation ; and these between us, which have been kept sacred, will continue to be religiously maintained.

We are here engaged in a sickly, wretched, and changeable Republic. For I suppose you have heard of our knights⁴ being nearly disunited from the Senate. First they took it very ill that a decree of the Senate should have been promulgated, to institute an inquiry into those who should have received money as judges. At the passing of this decree I was accidentally absent ; but when I found that the equestrian order was much disturbed at it, though they did not openly say so, I reprovèd the Senate, as I thought, with great authority ; and spake forcibly and copiously in not the most honorable cause. Now for another favorite concern of the knights, scarcely to be born ; which however I have not only born, but justified. The farmers of the revenue in Asia,⁵ who had made their agreement with the Censors, complained in the Senate that they had been deceived by the hope of gain, and had made an improvident bargain ; and petitioned that the letting might be set aside. I took

⁴ The Roman people were divided into three orders, senators, knights, and plebeians. The business of the knights was chiefly to act as judges, or as farmers of the public revenue.

⁵ Asiàni, appear to have been persons from the order of knights, who rented of the Censors the collection of the tributes from Asia minor, as was usual in other provinces, for five years at a time.

the lead among their supporters; or rather I was the second; for it was Crassus who encouraged them to present this request. A disreputable petition, and a confession of imprudence is, to say the truth, a hateful business. But there was the greatest reason to apprehend, that, if they gained no redress, they might be altogether alienated from the Senate. This affair also was principally managed by me; and it was brought about that they obtained a very full and very friendly Senate; and I said a good deal respecting the dignity and unanimity of the two orders, on the first of December and day following. The business is not yet finally settled, but the inclination of the Senate has been clearly seen. Metellus, the Consul elect, had alone spoken against it. That hero of ours, Cato, was going to speak, but owing to the shortness of the day it did not come to his turn. Thus maintaining my proposed line of conduct, I support, as well as I am able, that concord I had endeavoured to cement. But yet, since these measures are liable to fail, a certain safe way, as I hope, is fortifying to enable me to retain my authority. I cannot sufficiently explain this to you by letter, but I will give you a little hint. I am very familiar with Pompeius. I know what you will say. I will use caution, wherever caution can be used; and I will write more

fully to you some other time about my intentions in conducting the business of the Republic. Do you know that Luceius purposes immediately to solicit the Consulship? for there are said to be only two candidates. Cæsar expects to unite with him through Arrius: and Bibulus thinks he shall be able to be joined with Cæsar through C. Piso. Do you laugh? Believe me, this is no laughing matter. What else shall I tell you? What? There are many things: but at another time. If you would have us expect you, take care to let me know. Now I modestly beg, what I earnestly wish, that you will come as soon as you can. The fifth of December.

LETTER XVIII.

THERE is nothing of which I now so much feel the want, as of him with whom I can communicate every thing that concerns me; who loves me, who is prudent, with whom I can converse without flattery, without dissimulation, without reserve. For my brother, who is all candor and kindness, is away. Metellus is no more to me than the sea shore, or the air, a mere desert. But you, who have so often relieved my cares and anxieties by your conversation and counsel, who used to be my

companion in public matters, my confidant in all private ones, the partaker of all my words and thoughts, where are you? I am so deserted by every body, that I have no other comfort, but what is enjoyed with my wife, and daughter, and my sweet little Cicero. For those ambitious and outward friendships make some show in public, but have no domestic fruit. So that whilst my house is full every morning; whilst I go down to the Forum attended with troops of friends; out of this crowd I can find nobody, with whom I can either jest freely, or open my bosom familiarly. Therefore I look for you, I want you, nay I call for you. For there are many things which trouble and distress me, which, could I pour them into your ears, I seem as if I could discharge in the conversation of a single walk. The stings and vexations of my domestic troubles I shall keep to myself, and not trust to this letter and to a strange messenger. And these (for I would not have you think too much of them) are not of great moment; but yet they hang upon me, and teaze me, and have no friendly counsel or conversation to allay them. But in the Republic, although there is a ready courage, yet the inclination to exert itself, does again and again elude every remedy.¹ Should I but

¹ I understand the expressions *animus* and *voluntas* to apply not to Cicero, but to *In Repub.*

shortly collect together what has been done since your departure, you must needs exclaim, that the State of Rome can no longer subsist. For it was, I believe, after you left us, that the first entrance was made upon the cause of the Clodian story. Upon which occasion, conceiving that I had an opportunity of cutting down and restraining the licentiousness of the young, I exerted myself with vehemence, and poured forth all the powers of my mind and understanding; influenced by no hostility towards any body; but by the hope of correcting the Republic and healing the State. Deeply is the Republic injured by this corrupt and profligate judgment.² See now what has since taken place: a Consul³ has been imposed upon us, whom nobody, that is not as much a philosopher as ourselves, can bear to look at without a sigh. How severe a wound is this! After a decree of the Senate had passed respecting bribery at elections, respecting the conduct of judges, no law was carried through; the Senate was worried out; the Roman knights alienated. So that year overturned two supports of the State, which by me alone had been established: for the Senate both

² See LETTER XVI.

³ This Consul is L. Afranius, a creature of Pompeius, and designated by Cicero as the son of Aulus. See LETTER XVI.

threw away its authority; and dissolved the union of the two orders. Now then another fine year has been entered upon! Its beginning has been such, that the annual rites in honor of the tutelary goddess of youth were omitted. For Memmius was engaged in initiating the wife of M. Lucullus in rites of his own.⁴ Menelaus,⁵ not brooking that, procured a divorce. But whereas that Idæan shepherd⁶ had only abused Menelaus; this Paris of ours has treated both Menelaus and Agamemnon⁷ with scorn. But there is one C. Herennius, a tribune, whom perhaps you have never heard of; (though you may have heard of him, for he belongs to your tribe;)⁸ and Sextus, his father, used to distribute among you the money of the candidates.⁹ This man wants to translate

⁴ It must be supposed that Memmius ought to have presided at the rites of Juventas. It seems that he debauched the wife of M. Lucullus, which is meant by those rites of his own.

⁵ M. Lucullus, called Menelaus, as having been injured by Memmius, whom he had before called Paris.

⁶ Paris.

⁷ L. Lucullus, the brother of Marcus, so called because Agamemnon was brother to Menelaus. Memmius, who had thus insulted M. Lucullus, had before injured his brother, in opposing his petition for a triumph.

⁸ The people of Rome were distributed into thirty-five tribes.

⁹ The inferior magistrates were elected by the tribes,

P. Clodius to the condition of a plebeian;¹⁰ and the same fellow proposes that the populace at large should vote on this affair of Clodius in the Campus Martius.¹¹ I have given him such a reception in the Senate, as I am accustomed to do to such scoundrels: but nothing can be more insensible than he is. Metellus is an excellent Consul, and attached to me; but it lessens his authority, that he has, as a matter of form, promulgated this proposal respecting Clodius. But this son of Aulus¹², ye Gods! how dull, how spiritless a soldier, how well he deserves to lend an ear every day, as he does, to hear himself abused by Pelicanus. An Agrarian law has been promulgated by Flavius, a poor thing, almost the same as that of Plotius. In the mean time there is not a sound statesman, not a phantom of one, to be found. He who might be one, my intimate (for so he is, and I wish you to know it) Pompeius defends and probably might distribute money amongst those of their own tribe for this purpose.

¹⁰ Clodius wanted, for factious purposes, to become Tribune, for which it was necessary he should be a plebeian. He therefore contrived to get adopted into a plebeian family.

¹¹ The tribunes had the power of calling the Comitia tribute in the Campus Martius; and, in voting by tribes, as every citizen had a voice in his own tribe, consequently the plebeians had a great majority.

¹² Afranius.

that painted robe of his¹³ by keeping silence. Crassus utters not a word against the favor of the people. The others you are already acquainted with; who are so stupid, that they hope to preserve their luxurious stews¹⁴ when the Republic is lost. The only person who administers any relief, rather by his firmness and integrity, than by his counsel or prudence, is Cato, who now for the third month continues to harass the poor collectors,¹⁵ who have been very friendly to him. So we are compelled to pass no decree about other matters, till an answer is given to these collectors. I expect therefore that even the business of the embassies will be put off. You see now by what waves we are tossed. And if from what I have said, you perceive that there is as much more unsaid; yet visit us once more; and although these parts, to which I call you, deserve to be shunned; nevertheless let the value you set upon our friendship be such, that you may be glad to enjoy it even with these vexations. For, that you may not be registered as an absentee, I will take care to have your return

¹³ Pompeius continued to wear his coloured robe of triumph.

¹⁴ The stews for fish were among the principal luxuries of the Romans.

¹⁵ These are the farmers of the revenues of Asia minor spoken of in Letter xvii.

given out and proclaimed every where. To be registered just at the lustration,¹⁶ is like a very merehant. Therefore take care that we may see you as soon as possible. The 1st of February, in the Consulship of L. Metullus and L. Afranius.

LETTER XIX.

Not only if I had as much leisure, as you have ; but also if I was content to send such short letters, I should surpass you, and write much oftener than you do. But, besides my great and incredible occupations, I never suffer any letter to go to you without some argument and opinion. First then, as it is proper in writing to such a lover of his country, I will send you an account of what is going forward in the Republic ; next, as I know your affection to me, I will tell you what I conceive you may not be unwilling to hear relating to myself. And with respect to the Republic, the chief concern at present is the apprehension of a Gallic war. For the Edui, our brethren (as they have been called) are actually fighting ;

¹⁶ The registry of the Censors was concluded by a lustration, or sacrifice of purification, addressed to the assembled people.

the Sequani have been fighting very ill; and the Helvetii are without doubt in arms, and making incursions into the Roman province. The Senate has decreed that the Consuls should have the two Gauls allotted to them; that a levy should be made; that exemptions should not be admitted; that ambassadors should be dispatched with authority, who should go to the cities of Gaul, and take care that they do not join the Helvetii. The Ambassadors are Q. Metellus Creticus, and L. Flaccus, and (by an ill assortment, like the Greek proverb of pouring precious ointment upon lentils) Lentulus, the son of Clodianus. And here I cannot forbear mentioning, that when, among the Consulars, the first lot fell upon me, a full Senate with one voice determined that I ought to be retained in the city. After me the same thing happened to Pompeius: so that we two seemed to be kept as pledges of the Republic. Why then should I look for the applauses of others, when these spring up at home? Now this is the state of the city affairs. The agrarian law was vehemently urged by the Tribune Flavius, though the author of it was Pompeius; and it had nothing popular besides its author. From this law I took out, with the approbation of the assembly, whatever affected the interests of private persons: I exempted the land, which had been sold in the consulship

of P. Mucius and L. Calpurnius ; I confirmed the possessions of Sulla's people ; the Volaterrani, and Arretini, whose lands Sulla had declared public, but had not allotted, I retained in the enjoyment of their property : one plan I did not object to, that land should be purchased with this adventitious money, which might be derived, for the space of five years, from the tributes of the countries newly conquered.¹ The Senate was adverse to the whole of this agrarian scheme, suspecting that it was designed only to give some new power to Pompeius ; for Pompeius had used great exertions to accomplish his wish of carrying the law through. But, with the full approbation of those who were to occupy the lands, I confirmed the titles of the actual possessors (for our strength, as you know, lies in the rich proprietors), whilst I satisfied the people and Pompeius (for that also I wished to do) by the purchase ; which being carefully conducted, I hoped the lees of the city might be drawn off, and the waste lands of Italy peopled. But this whole affair has cooled again, having been interrupted by the war. Metellus is indeed a good Consul, and is much attached to me : the other is such a mere cipher, that he does not even know what it is

¹ These were the countries conquered by Pompeius in the Mithridatic war.

that he has bought.² These are the chief things of the Republic ; unless you may think it concerns the Republic also, that one Herennius, a Tribune of the people, of your tribe, a good-for-nothing and needy fellow, has several times instituted a motion for transferring P. Clodius to the rank of a plebeian : but many have interposed their prohibition. This, I think, is what has been doing in the Republic. But for myself, after having once obtained the distinguished and immortal glory of that fifth of December,³ not without much envy and ill will, I have never ceased to exert the same spirit in the Republic, and to support that dignity which I had entered upon and attained. But when I had witnessed, first, in the acquittal of Clodius, the inconstancy and weakness of the judges ; then saw how easily our knights collectors, though they continued friendly to me, were disunited from the Senate ; then again, that certain happy spirits (those luxurious possessors of fish-ponds I mean, your friends) are undisguisedly envious of me ; I considered that it was time to look out for some greater support and stronger securities. Therefore, first I brought Pompeius, who had too long observed a silenee upon my transac-

² Meaning that he had bought the consulship.

³ When he defeated Catiline's conspiracy, and ordered his accomplices to be put to death.

tions, into that disposition, that in the Senate, not once, but repeatedly, and at considerable length, he attributed to me the safety of the empire and of the world: which did not so much concern me (for what I did is not so obscure as to stand in need of testimony, or so doubtful as to require commendation) as the Republic; because there were certain ill-disposed people, who expected that some contention might arise between me and Pompeius from a disagreement upon those matters. With him I have united myself in such intimacy, that each of us may hence be more fortified in his own line of conduct, and firmer in the Republic, from this connexion. And that hostility of the licentious and delicate youth, which had been raised against me, has been so softened by my civility, that they all now pay me particular attention. In short, I do nothing harsh towards any body; nor, however, any thing popular and unbecoming; but my whole conduct is so regulated, that I maintain a constancy towards the Republic; and in my private concerns, on account of the unsteadiness of the good, the unkindness of the malevolent, the hatred of the wicked, towards me, I adopt a certain caution and attention; and so bear my affections, whilst I am implicated in these new connexions, that the sly Sicilian Epicharmus often whispers in my ear that verse of his—"Be

sober, and distrustful : these are the sinews of the understanding :” and of my management and scheme of life you see, I think, as it were a model. Respecting your business you often write to me ; but it is impossible to remedy it ; for the decree of the Senate was carried by a great concurrence of the inferior members, without the authority of any of us Consulars. For, as to your seeing that I was present when it was drawn up, you may understand from the decree itself, that a different object was at that time brought forward ; and this about the free people was added without any occasion ; and was so done by P. Servilius the son, who gave his opinion among the last. But at this time it cannot be altered. So that the meetings, which were at first held on this subject, have long since ceased to be kept up. If however by your gentle manners you have squeezed out of the Sicyonians any portion of money, I should be glad to be made acquainted with it. I have sent you the account of my consulate, written in Greek ; in which if there is any thing that appears to an Attic gentleman not to be correct and good Greek, I will not say to you, what I think Lucullus said of his history, that he purposely introduced some barbarisms, that it might be known to be the work of a Roman. In mine if there be any thing of that sort, it will be without my knowledge, and

contrary to my inclination. If I complete that in Latin, I will send it to you. You may expect the third in verse,⁴ that I may omit no mode of celebrating my own praises. Here take care that you do not quote upon me the Greek proverb, "Who will praise his father?"⁵ For if there is any thing better among men, let it be praised, and let me be blamed for not rather bestowing my praises elsewhere; though what I write is, after all, not praise, but history. My brother Quintus studies to exculpate himself in his letters, and affirms that he never spoke any thing against you to any body: but this must be managed between us with great care and diligence when we meet. Do you only at length visit us again. This Cossinius, to whom I give my letter, seems to me an excellent man, free from levity, and affectionate towards you, and such as your letter represented him. The 15th of March.

⁴ This he afterwards executed. See Book II. Letter III.

⁵ Some doubts have been entertained about the application of this proverb. In the beginning of Plutarch's life of Aratus it is quoted more at length; and from thence I should understand it here to signify, that as it was concluded that one who praised the deeds of his ancestors, had no merit of his own; so it might be inferred, that if Cicero was so vain of his consulship, he had little else to boast of.

LETTER XX.

UPON my return to Rome from my Pompeianum¹ on the 12th of May, our friend Cincius gave me your letter dated the 13th of February, to which I now reply. And first, I am very glad that you are so perfectly acquainted with my opinion respecting you.² In the next place, it gives me great satisfaction that you should have shewn such moderation in those affairs, in which I and my family were concerned, not without some appearance of harshness and unkindness;³ which is a proof at once of no small affection, and of consummate judgment and prudence. On which subject as you have written so graciously, so carefully, so fairly and candidly, that I not only have nothing further to ask of you, but had no right to expect so much readiness and mildness from you, or from any man; I think it best to say nothing more about the business. When we meet, then, if any occasion occurs, we will confer together by word of mouth.

¹ Cicero possessed several villas, one of which was near Pompeii.

² This probably alludes to what he had said in the xviiith Letter.

³ Meaning the disagreement between Quintus and his wife Pomponia.

In what you say about the Republic, you argue affectionately and wisely; and your opinion is not at variance with the line of conduct I have adopted. I ought neither to recede from the state of my dignity, nor to go without my host into the fortifications of another man; and he⁴ of whom you speak, has nothing noble, nothing exalted, nothing that is not abject and popular. Yet the course I have taken is perhaps not without its advantage to myself in promoting the tranquillity of my own times; but it is still much more advantageous to the Republic, than to me, that the violence of the wicked against me should be repressed by my having confirmed the wavering opinion of one in the highest fortune, authority, and favour; and by having converted him from the hopes of bad men to the commendation of my actions. Had any meanness been necessary on my part, I should have thought no object an equivalent; but every thing has been done in such a manner, that my dignity has sustained no diminution from complianee with him, while his is increased by his approbation of me. The rest is, and will continue to be, so managed, as not to permit that what I have done, may appear to have been done by accident. My good men, those whom

⁴ Pompeius.

you mention, and that Sparta,⁵ which you say has fallen to my lot, I will not only never desert, but even if I am deserted by it, I will still continue in my former sentiments. I would wish you however to consider, that since the death of Catulus I maintain this course of honor without protectors, and without associates: for as Rhinton, I think, says, "some are as nothing, others care for nothing." With regard to the envy which our epicures bear me, I will either write to you at another time, or will reserve it till we meet. But nothing shall tear me from the Senate; whether because it is right that we should be united; or that it is most suitable to my affairs; or that I am not sorry to be held in such esteem by them.

With regard to the Sicyonians, as I told you in a former letter, there is not much hope in the Senate. For there is now nobody that offers any complaint. So that if you wait for this it is a long business. Try some other means if you can. For it has been concluded without animadversion from those whom it concerned; and the junior senators hastily ran to support the motion. The season is not yet come for superseding the decree; because there are not only none to complain; but

⁵ This obviously alludes to a passage in some letter from Atticus, who had applied to Cicero a Greek proverbial expression, signifying, that one who was born at Sparta, ought to act worthily of this distinction.

many are very well pleased, partly through malice,⁵ partly from an opinion of its justice. Your friend, Metellus, is an excellent Consul. I have only to blame in him, that he is not very well pleased with the news of peace from Gaul. I suppose he is ambitious of a triumph. In this I wish he were more moderate. Every thing else is excellent. But this son of Aulus behaves in such a manner, that his consulate is no consulate, but the mortification of our Magnus.⁶ Of my writings I have sent you my consulate in Greek. I delivered the book to L. Cossinius. But while you are pleased with my Latin compositions, I imagine that, as a Greek, you will bear towards this Greek one a little envy. If any body else writes upon this subject I will send it you. But believe me, as soon as they have read this of mine, they are somehow checked. Now, to return to my own business, L. Papirius Pætus, a good man, and fond of me, has made me a present of the books which Ser. Claudius left. As your friend Cincius declared that, by the Cincian law,⁷ it

⁵ Being pleased to see the public creditors disappointed.

⁶ Magnus, or great, is well known to have been an appellation of Pompcius, who had got Afranius, the son of Aulus, to be elected Consul.

⁷ This is said joking. Cincius's name has frequently occurred before, as an agent employed by Atticus. The Cincian law forbid the receiving of extravagant sums for pleading.

was allowable to take them, I said that I should most willingly accept them if he offered them.⁸ Now, if you love me, if you know that you are beloved by me,⁹ use your endeavours, through your friends, your clients, your guests, nay, your freed-men, and slaves, that not a scrap of them may be lost. For I want exceedingly both the Greek books, which I suspect, and the Latin, which I know he left. I have every day more satisfaction in these studies, whenever the business of the forum permits. You will render me a most, I say, a most grateful service, if you will attend to this with the same diligence you use in things which you suppose me to have much at heart. At the same time I recommend to you the affairs of Pætus himself, for undertaking which he gives you the greatest thanks. I not only ask, but intreat you, at length to visit us.

⁸ This is not said to Pætus in reply to his offer actually made; but to Cincius, on the supposition that it might be made. It is for this reason that he adds *si attulisset*. He told Cincius, that since he so interpreted his namesake's law, that he might legally accept the books, he should be very glad to do so *if they were offered to him*.

⁹ This may allude particularly to some expressions which it is probable Atticus had used in his acknowledgment of Letter xvii., where Cicero declares his strong affection for him.

BOOK II.

LETTER I.

ON the first of June, as I was going to Antium, and gladly leaving the gladiators of M. Metellus, I met your servant. He delivered to me your letter, and the Greek narrative of my consulship, upon which I was glad that I had previously given to L. Cossinius my book on the same subject, written likewise in Greek, which he was to take to you. For had I read your's first, you might say that I had stolen from you. Although your's, which I eagerly read, appeared to me rather rough and undressed, yet that very negligenee had the effect of ornament; and, as they say of women, it was the sweeter from having no perfume.

My book, on the other hand, had exhausted the whole repository of Isoerates, and all the scented boxes of his disciples, and in some measure even the colors of Aristotle. This, as you mentioned in a former letter, you just tasted at Corcyra; but afterwards I imagine you re-

ceived it from Cossinius. I should not have ventured to send it you, unless I had deliberately and critically examined it. Though Posidonius,¹ to whom I had sent my memoir, that he might describe the same events in a more finished style, told me in his answer from Rhodes, that the perusal had not only not disposed him to write, but had completely discouraged him. What say you? I have confounded the Greek nation; so that they who pressed me to give them materials, which they might embellish, have now ceased to trouble me. If the book pleases you, you will take care to have it circulated in Athens, and other cities² of Greece. For it may possibly throw some splendor on my affairs. I will send the speeches you ask for, and some others, since you seem to be pleased with what I have written at the desire of certain young men. For, as your fellow-citizen Demosthenes, in those orations which are called Philippics, had shone forth, and emancipated himself from that abrupt and judicial manner of speaking, that he might appear more dignified and statesman-like; so it became me to see that there should

¹ Posidonius was a Stoic philosopher, under whom Cicero had studied at Rhodes.

² Previous to the invention of printing, the transcribing and dispersing of books must have been a work of great labor, and must have taken up a great deal of time.

be some orations of mine, which might be called consular; of which one was delivered in the Senate on the first of January; the next to the people on the Agrarian law; the third on the subject of Otho;³ the fourth in defence of Rabirius; the fifth on the children of the persons proscribed;⁴ the sixth, when in the assembly I resigned my province; the seventh, by which I drove out Catiline; the eighth, which I delivered to the people the day after Catiline's flight: the ninth in the assembly, on the day when the Allobroges gave their public testimony;⁵ the tenth in the Senate, on the fifth of December.⁶ There are besides two short ones, as it were fragments, on the subject of the Agrarian law. I will take care that you shall have this whole collection. And since not only my writings, but my transac-

³ Otho had been the author of a law, which appropriated a distinguished part of the theatre to the use of the Knights. This Otho coming into the theatre during Cicero's Consulship was hooted by the populace, and supported by the Knights, so as to endanger a considerable uproar; upon which Cicero summoned the people to the Temple of Bellona, where he addressed them with such effect, that, upon returning to the theatre, they joined their applause to that of the Knights. The oration is not extant.

⁴ This relates to Sulla's proscription.

⁵ This relates to the Catilinarian conspiracy.

⁶ This likewise relates to the Catilinarian conspiracy.

tions, afford you pleasure, in the same books you will see both what I have done, and what I have said. Otherwise, you should not have asked for them; for I did not present myself to you uninvited.

As to what you enquire about the cause of my sending for you; and signify, that though you are fettered with business, yet not only if it is necessary, but if I wish it, you will come to me; there is in truth no immediate necessity; but I thought you might arrange the season of travelling more conveniently. You are away too long, especially as you are at no great distance, and yet we do not enjoy the fruits of your company, and you are without us. At present all is quiet; yet if the madness of the pretty⁷ youth were allowed to proceed a little further, I should earnestly call you thence. But Metellus nobly prevents it, and will prevent it. What say you? He is a patriotic Consul, as I always believed, and well disposed. But that fellow no longer dissembles, but openly professes his wish to be made a Tribune of the people. Upon the question being agitated in the Senate, I beat him down, and reproached him with his inconstancy, who at Rome was soliciting the Tribunate, though at Hera, in Sicily, he had declared that he wanted to be made *Ædile*. But I said it was

⁷ The person here meant is evidently Clodius. He is so designated, Book 1. Letter xvi.

not a thing about which we need give ourselves much trouble; for it would no more be permitted to him as a plebeian to ruin the state, than it had been to some, like himself, who were patricians, when I was Consul. Again, when he boasted in the Assembly that he had come from the Strait⁸ in six days, and that nobody had time to come out to meet him, and that he had arrived in the night; I observed, that it was nothing strange that he should have come from Sicily to Rome in six days, who had gone from Rome to Interamna in three hours;⁹ that it was not the first time he had entered by night; and that nobody had met and stopt him on a former occasion, when it ought more especially to have been done. What say you? I make an impudent man modest not only by a constant dignity of speech, but even by this kind of repartee. Now therefore I dispute and jest familiarly with him. For as we were conducting one of the candidates, he asks me if I used to give a place to the Sicilians in the exhibitions of gladiators?¹⁰

⁸ By the Strait is to be understood the narrow sea between Italy and Sicily.

⁹ At the time of his trial, it was falsely asserted that Clodius had been at Interamna on the night when he was discovered in Cæsar's house at the mysteries of the Bona Dea.

¹⁰ Cicero had been Quæstor in Sicily some years before; and lately Clodius had held the same office there.

I said, no. But I, says he, their new patron, shall adopt this; though my sister, who has such consular space allotted her, gives me but one foot. Do not complain, said I, of this one foot of your sister, for you are at liberty to lift up the other whenever you please.¹¹ You will say this is not a very consular speech. I confess it; but I hate her, ill deserving to be called consular; for she is a seditious woman, is at war with her husband, and not only with Metellus,¹² but with Fabius also, because she is displeased with the part they take on this¹³ occasion. In reply to your enquiry about the Agrarian law, it seems for the present to have cooled. As to the reproof you give me with a gentle hand respecting my familiarity with Pompeius, I would not have you imagine that I have united myself with him for the sake of my own security: but things were so circumstanced, that if by accident there should arise any disagreement between us, the greatest dissensions must have ensued in the Republic:

¹¹ Clodius was supposed to have had incestuous commerce with his sister.

¹² She was married to Metellus, but supposed to entertain Fabius also with the familiarities of a husband.

¹³ The exact meaning of the original is not obvious; but I conceive it to relate to the opposition which Metellus and Fabius gave to Clodius's design of making himself a Tribune of the people.

which I have guarded and provided against in such a manner, that I shall not depart from my just course; but he will become better, and lay aside something of his popular levity. For, you must know, he speaks much more magnificently of my actions, against which many had endeavoured to excite him, than of his own. For to himself he bears testimony of having well administered the state; to me of having saved it. How far [his doing this may be of use to me I know not; it is certainly of use to the Republic. What if I make even Cæsar a better man, who is now in the enjoyment of such prosperous gales? Should I do any great injury to the state? But if nobody envied me, if all favored me as they ought, yet the remedy which could cure the unsound parts of the state, would not be less desirable, than that which would cut them out. But now, when that body of knights, which I stationed on the Capitoline hill under your standard, has deserted the Senate; and our chiefs think they have reached the skies, if they have but bearded mullets in their fish ponds, which will come to their hands; and neglect every thing else; do you not think that I render essential service, if I prevent them from doing mischief, who have it so much in their power? For you cannot esteem our friend Cato more than I do:

but he, with the best intentions, and the greatest integrity, sometimes does harm to the state, by delivering his opinion as if he were living in the republic of Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus. What can be more just than that one, who had received money for his sentence, should be brought into judgment? Cato gave his opinion to this effect, and the Senate assented. The Knights declared war against the Senate, not against me, for I dissented. What could be more impudent than the appeal of the¹⁴ collectors? Yet for the sake of retaining the good will of the order the loss should have been submitted to. Cato resisted, and carried his point. The consequence has been, that when the Consul was shut up in prison; when seditions have at different times been raised; not one of those men has come forwards, by whose concurrence I, and also the Consuls who came after me, used to defend the Republic. What then, you will say, shall we have them hired with a price? What shall we do, if we can have them upon no other terms? Should we prefer submitting ourselves to freed-men, and even slaves? But,

¹⁴ These were of the Order of Knights, who had made an improvident bargain for taking the rents of some of the subject Provinces, and petitioned to have it cancelled. See Book I. Letter xvii.

as you say, enough of my zeal. Favonius has found my tribe more favorably disposed than his own; that of Luceius he has lost. He accused Nasica ungenerously, and yet he spake but moderately, as if he had bestowed his pains, at Rhodes, upon the mills, rather than upon Molon.¹⁵ He gently found fault with me, because I had defended Nasica. Now however he is again a candidate on behalf of the Republic.¹⁶ I will let you know what Luceius does, when I shall have seen Cæsar, who will be here in two days time. That the Sicyonians should injure you, you may attribute to Cato, and to his emulator, Servilius. What? does not that stroke affect many good men? But, if it must be so, let us commend it; only let us afterwards, in the dissensions of the state, be content to be left alone. My Amalthea¹⁷ expects and wants you. My Tusculanum and Pompeianum delight me exceedingly, excepting that they have overwhelmed

¹⁵ The similarity of the Latin words suggested this expression to Cicero, which it would be perhaps impossible, and certainly trifling, to preserve in a translation.

¹⁶ He is mentioned, Book 1. Letter XIV.

¹⁷ The reason of this term being applied to a library is explained before, Book 1. Letter XIII. In Letter XVI. Book 1., he mentions his intention of having an Amaltheum of his own at Arpinum.

me, the asserter of debts,¹⁸ not with Corinthian brass, but debts of this ordinary brass money. In Gaul I hope all is quiet. You may expect soon to receive my *Prognostica*,¹⁹ with the little volume of orations. In the mean time let me know what are your intentions about coming to us, for Pomponia desired I might be informed that you would be at Rome in July. This does not agree with the letters you had written to me about the time of your setting out.

Pætus, as I before mentioned to you, has presented me with all the books which his brother left. This gift of his is dependant upon your diligence. If you have any regard for me, take care that they may be preserved, and sent to me. Nothing can be more acceptable to me than this; and I would have you carefully secure the Latin, as well as the Greek books. I shall regard this as your gift. I have sent a letter to Octavius.²⁰ I had not spoken to him; for I neither supposed your

¹⁸ This has been supposed to allude to the Catilinarian conspirators, who were many of them overwhelmed with debts. It seems to me more probable, that it should refer to his general practice as an advocate.

¹⁹ Cicero had translated the *Prognostics* of Aratus, a Greek poet.

²⁰ The father of Augustus Cæsar, at that time Governor of the Province of Macedonia.

business to be of a provincial nature, nor did I consider you among the scribes:²¹ but I have written, as it became me, with all diligence.

LETTER II.

Take care, I beseech you, of our young Cicero:¹ we are his uncles, and ought, according to the Greek expression, to be his guardian deities.² I have been engaged in reading the

²¹ It is evident from some former letters that Atticus was in danger of sustaining a considerable loss at Sicyon, the tributes of which place he appears to have rented, but which had lately been withheld under pretence of a general decree of the Senate in favor of all free states. See Book I. Letter XIX.

¹ The son of Quintus and Pomponia.

² The occasion and circumstances of this letter, the place from whence it is written, or to which it is directed, the persons and the books named in it, are so little known, that it is involved in considerable obscurity. Cicero seems to be speaking of his nephew, who was also nephew to Atticus, and might possibly be unwell at Rome, while Cicero was at one of his villas. I have ventured to give to this passage a sense very different from that of any commentary I have seen; and I have done so upon the authority of Plutarch, in the conclusion of his piece, entitled *περι φιλαδελφιας*, where he observes that the very word *θειος*, signifying at once "uncle" and "divine,"

Pellenæum,³ and have a large pile of Dicæarchus's works before me. What a great man he is! One may learn from him much more than from Procilius. At Rome I believe I have his Athenais and Corinthiacs. If you take my advice you will read him. This I answer for, that he is a wonderful man. Herodes, if he were wise, would read him, rather than write one syllable of his own. He has shot at me by letter; with you I see he has come to close quarters. I would sooner have been a conspirator myself, than have opposed the conspiracy, if I had thought it would be necessary to hear him.⁴ You are mistaken about Lollius;⁵ about Vinius I quite agree with you. But how is this? Do you observe that the Kalends are coming, and Antonius⁶ is not come? That the judges are summoned?

leads to brotherly kindness and affection; *δοκει γαρ μοι τ'ουνομα καλως ὑφηγεισθαι προς ευνοϊαν αδελφων και αγαπησιν.* Cicero therefore employs the Greek term, because the Latin did not bear this signification.

³ *Πελληναιων.* This was probably some work of Dicæarchus, on the government of Pellene, a small territory of Achaia.

⁴ It is probable this Herodes might have written some poor account of Cicero's Consulship, which it pained him to read.

⁵ Who Lollius, or Vinius, may have been, is not known.

⁶ C. Antonius was impeached for extortion in his government of Macedonia.

For so they inform me; that Nigidius threatens in the assembly to call to account any judge who absents himself. I should be glad however, if you have heard any thing about Antonius's arrival, that you would send me word. And since you do not come hither,⁷ at least sup with me the day before the Kalends. Mind that you do not fail. Fare you well.

LETTER III.

I imagine, I ought to present¹ my congratulations on Valerius's having been defended by Hortensius, and acquitted. This judgment was supposed to be granted to the favor of C. Atilius. I suspect too, that Epierates,² as

⁷ We may suppose that this letter was addressed to Atticus at Rome, whither he was going without accepting Cicero's invitation to the villa whence he writes. Therefore having missed him before, Cicero now appoints him to sup with him at Rome the day when he intended to go thither himself.

¹ *Ευαγγελια*. This usually signifies the gratuity given to the messengers of good news. The letter is generally supposed to have been written from the country to Atticus at Rome, in answer to one received from him communicating this intelligence. It seems to me more natural to suppose that Cicero might have heard it elsewhere, and that it wanted confirmation.

² This term is used to designate Pompeius, who appears

you say, may have grown wanton ; for I did not like his military shoes, any more than his white bandages. We shall know what the case is when you come.

When you find fault with the narrowness of my windows, you must know that you find fault with the Institution of Cyrus:³ for when I made the same observation, Cyrus said that the view of lawns through wide apertures was less pleasing. For, let the sight be A, the object B C, the rays D and E—you understand the rest. If we saw by the incidence of images,⁴ the images might be much embarrassed in these narrow openings ; but now the emanation of rays is made merrily. If you find fault with other parts, you will not find me silent, unless it be on some point which can be altered without expense.

I come now to the month of January, and to my particular situation and policy ; in which we must, like Socrates, consider both sides ; and then at last, like his disciples, choose what

to have affected some ambitious singularity of dress, and may have been suspected of interfering in the cause of Valerius.

³ This is a playful application of the title of Xenophon's work to the architect whom Cicero employed, and who happened to be named Cyrus.

⁴ This seems to relate to the Epicurean doctrine of images described by Lucretius, and here humorously applied to the circumstances of Cicero's house.

pleases us. It is truly a matter of great concern: for either a strong resistance must be made to the Agrarian law; in which there will be some fighting, but full of honor: or we must be quiet; which is the same thing as going out of the way to Solonium, or Antium: or else I must give it my support; which they say Cæsar so much expects from me, that he makes no doubt of it. For Cornelius has been with me, Balbus I mean, Cæsar's friend. He affirmed that Cæsar would follow mine and Pompeius's advice in all things, and that he would endeavour to unite Crassus with Pompeius. Here is the state of this business. I am intimately connected with Pompeius; if you please, with Cæsar too; there is an opportunity of returning into favor with my enemies, of conciliating the populace, of securing tranquillity for my old age. But that former resolution of mine influences me, which is in the third book⁵—"In the mean time, that course which you pursued with virtue and spirit in early youth, and also as Consul, you must still maintain, and grow in reputation and the praises of good men." Calliope herself⁶ having dictated this to me in that book, which contains so many wholesome

⁵ Of a poem written by Cicero on the subject of his consulate.

⁶ Calliope was invoked in this book to inspire him.

maxims, I think I ought not to doubt but that, in the words of Homer, "my best auspices should be to fight for my country." But let us reserve these considerations for our walks during the Compitalia.⁷ Do not forget the day before the Compitalia. I shall order the bath to be heated; and Terentia invites Pomponia: we will add your mother to our party. Bring me, from my brother Quintus's library, Theophrastus on the Love of Honor.

LETTER IV.

I AM very much obliged to you for sending me Serapion's work; of which, between ourselves, I scarcely understand a thousandth part. I have desired you may be paid for it in ready money; that you might not set it down among the expenses of your presents. But having made mention of money, let me beg you to come to some arrangement with Titinius, in any manner you are able. If he does not adhere to what he had professed, I should like best, if Pomponia agrees to it, that the things, which are so dearly bought, may be returned. If that cannot be done, let the money be paid,

⁷ The Compitalia was a Roman festival; on which, it seems, Atticus had promised to pay Cicero a visit in the country.

rather than have any altercation about it. I should be very glad to have you settle this before you go, with your usual kindness and diligence.

Does Clodius then, as you say, go to Tigranes? Would it were on the same terms as Seepsius!¹ but I have no reason to object to it. For it will be a more favorable time for my absence on a free lieutenancy,² when my brother Quintus, as I hope, may be settled at his ease, and it may be known what that priest of the Bona Dea³ is about. In the mean time I shall entertain myself with the Muses with an even spirit, nay, with cheerfulness and satisfaction. Nor will it ever enter my mind to envy Crassus; or to repent that I have been true to myself. I will endeavour to gratify

¹ Many conjectures have been formed respecting the true reading, and the right interpretation of this passage. Gronovius proposes to read "Seepsii conditione," and observes that Metrodorus Seepsius was sent by Mithridates to Tigranes, and there lost his life. I have adopted his emendation, but have ventured to put upon it a new construction. After all, it is very doubtful.

² What the nature of these free lieutenancies was, is explained, Book i. Letter x. note 5.

³ Cicero thought to absent himself from Rome during the time of Clodius's tribunate. He was expecting that his brother Quintus might be relieved from his government before another year, and might then keep a watch upon Clodius's operations.

you on the subject of geography : but I make no certain promise. It is a great undertaking ; but yet, at your desire, I will try to let you have some fruit of my absence. Whatever you may have learnt relating to the Republic, especially whom you may think likely to be the Consuls, let me know : though I am become less curious, since I have determined not to trouble myself about public affairs.

I have been to see Terentia's wood. We want nothing but the Dodonean oak,⁴ to make us think we have possession of Epirus itself. About the kalends I shall be either in my Formianum, or Pompeianum. If I should not be in the Formianum, come, if you love me, to the Pompeianum : it will give me great delight, and will be very little out of your way. I have ordered Philotimus to let the wall be done, as you wished. I think however you should consult Vettius. In these times, when the life of every good man is so precarious, I consider the enjoyment of the Palatine ground⁵

⁴ These oaks were of sacred memory, and situated in Epirus, the country of Atticus's villa, to which he here alludes.

⁵ The palæstra was properly a piece of ground appropriated to public exercises. This might have adjoined to the wall of Cicero's and his brother's premises, which were contiguous buildings on the Palatine hill. The repairs of the partition wall may be supposed to have interfered with their access to this ground, at least for a season.

for one summer to be of great value; yet so, that I should wish nothing less, than that Pomponia, or the boy, should be exposed to any danger from its falling.

LETTER V.

I WISH indeed, and have long wished, to visit Alexandria, and the rest of Egypt; and likewise to get away from hence, where people are grown tired of me; and to return when they may again want me. But as to going at this time, and being sent by these persons,¹ (I may say with Hector) "I have too much respect for the Trojans, and long-robed Trojan ladies." For what will our nobles say, if there are any remaining? that I have renounced my principles for a bribe? "The first to impute disgrace to me will be Polydamus," that Cato of ours, who alone is as good as a hundred thousand. But what will history say of us some six hundred years hence? which I value much more than the idle rumours of those who are now living. But I think we must suspend our judgment, and wait. For if it should be offered, I shall still be at liberty

¹ Cæsar and Pompeius thought at this time of sending an ambassador to Alexandria, to confirm Ptolemy Auletes on his throne.

to do as I please ; and then it will be time to determine. There is some credit even in declining. Therefore, if Theophanes² should happen to say any thing to you about it, do not immediately repel him.

I am expecting to hear from you on the following subjects : what Arrius says ;³ how he bears his disappointment ; whether any Consuls are yet provided ; whether, as the people say, they are to be Pompeius and Crassus ; or, as I am informed, Servius Sulpicius with Gabinius ; also whether there are any new laws ; and in short, if there is any news ; and since Nepos is going away, who is to have the Augurate ;⁴ with which alone I could be caught by them. See my levity. But why do I speak of these things ? which I desire to have done with, and to give my whole mind, and all my care, to philosophy. This, I say, is my intention : would it had always been so ! But now, when I have experienced the vanity of all that I once thought great, I think of dedicat-

² Theophanes was a creature of Pompeius.

³ Arrius had received a promise of support from Crassus, but was now set aside to make room for the friends of Cæsar and Pompeius.

⁴ Upon the death of Metellus Celer it was natural to suppose that his brother Nepos might have succeeded to his office of Augur ; but his going now to the government of a province made him ineligible, as it was necessary to solicit it personally at Rome.

ing myself to all the Muses. Let me however hear more certainly about Curtius,⁵ and whether any body is fixed upon to succeed him; and what is doing about P. Clodius; and tell me every thing, as you promise, at your leisure. I wish you to inform me also what day you think of leaving Rome, that I may acquaint you where I shall be; and I beg you will very soon let me hear about what I have written to you. I anxiously expect your letters.

LETTER VI.

WHAT I promised in a former letter, that some work should appear, the fruit of my retirement, I do not now very strongly confirm; for I have so attached myself to idleness, that I am not to be torn from it. Therefore I either amuse myself with books, of which I have an agreeable collection at Antium; or I count the waves, for the season is not favorable for catching lacertæ.¹ My mind quite revolts at writing. The geographical researches which I projected, are a great undertaking; for Era-

⁵ It is not known who this Curtius is, or what place he held.

¹ It is probable these lacertæ were some common sort of fish; but I have thought it best to retain the original word in a thing of so much uncertainty.

tosthenes, whom I had intended to follow, is strenuously opposed by Serapion, and by Hipparchus. What think you, if Tyrannio² should join them? Besides, the subject is difficult to explain, and of a uniform nature, and less susceptible of any ornaments of writing, than I had supposed; and, which is the chief of all, any cause is, to say the truth, sufficient to make me give it up. I am doubtful whether I shall settle here, or at Antium, to pass all this time;³ where I would rather have been a Duumvir, than have been Consul at Rome.⁴ You have done wiser in providing a home at Buthrotum. But, believe me, this town of Antium comes very near to yours. Could it be supposed there was any place so near Rome, where there are many people, who never saw Vatinius?⁵ where there is nobody besides myself, who cares if any one of the twenty commissioners⁶ is alive

² Tyrannio, a severe preceptor, with whom both the Ciceros placed their sons.

³ Cicero had determined to withdraw from Rome during the storms which he saw approaching, and which he had no power to control.

⁴ His conduct during his Consulship, meritorious as it had been, was now going to be arraigned, which filled his mind with these sentiments.

⁵ Vatinius was a factious Tribune, who exerted himself this year in opposing the authority of the Senate.

⁶ These were commissioners appointed to divide the lands of Campania agreeably to the Agrarian law.

and safe? where nobody interrupts me, and every body loves me? Here then is the place to exercise my political talents: there I am not only prevented, but am weary of it. Therefore some private observations, which I may read to you alone, shall be drawn up in Theopompus's manner, or still more severely. I now trouble myself no further about the public, than to hate the wicked; and even that without anger, or rather with some pleasure in writing.

But to come to business; I have written to the city Quæstors about my brother Quintus's affair. See what they say;⁷ whether there is any hope of Roman money;⁸ or whether we must be put off with the Pompeian cistophorus. Moreover, settle what is to be done about the wall. Is there any thing else? yes: let me be informed when you mean to go from thence.

⁷ I have thought it right to preserve in the translation this little irregularity of the original expression, the English language admitting it with as much propriety as the Latin.

⁸ It seems Quintus Cicero wanted to have the expenses of his government defrayed in Roman money, instead of the Asiatic Cistophori, accruing from the plunder of Mithridates by Pompeius. The Cistophorus was a small coin, so called from bearing the impression of the Cistus, or chest, used in the mysteries of Ceres.

LETTER VII.

I WILL think again about the geography. You ask me for two orations; one of which I did not care to write out, because I had left it imperfect; the other, that I might not praise a person I did not like: but I will see about this also. However there shall be something, that you may not think I have been totally idle. What you tell me about Clodius is highly agreeable to me; and I hope, when you come, you will bring me a full account; and that you will let me hear from you in the mean time, if you know, or suspect, any thing; especially what he is likely to do about the embassy. Before I read your letter I was wishing to get at the fellow,¹ not forsooth that I might put off my engagement with him (for I am eager for the contest); but I thought he would lose whatever popularity he had acquired by being made a plebeian. “For what purpose have you passed over to the people? “that you might go to salute Tigranes? Tell

¹ This sense appears to me sufficiently good, without altering the text in opposition to all MSS. Most commentators have thought fit to omit the preposition *in*, and to understand Cicero to say that he had wished Clodius might go to Tigranes.

“ me : do the Armenian kings refuse to salute
“ patricians ?” In short I was prepared to work
him upon this embassy ; which if he slights,
and if, as you say, that excites the indignation
both of the framers and supporters of the law
by which he was disnobled, it will be a fine
scene. But, to say the truth, our Publius
(Clodius), is treated rather disrespectfully : in
the first place, that he who was once the only
man in Cæsar’s house, now should not have
been able to be one among twenty : then, that
one embassy should have been talked of, ano-
ther should have been given ; that rich one for
the purpose of exacting money, is reserved, I
suppose, for the Pisaurian Drusus, or the
glutton Vatinius : this meagre and dainty
banishment is given to him, whose tribunate is
reserved to suit the occasions of these gentle-
men. In flame him, I conjure you, as much as
possible. The only hope of safety is in the
disagreement of these people among them-
selves, of which I learned some symptoms from
Curio. Already Arrius complains that the
Consulate has been snatched away from him :
Megabocchus,² and these sanguinary youths,
are determined enemies. To this let there be
added, yes, let there be added, that contest for

² It is generally supposed that by this term is meant Pompeius, and that he was at variance with these young incendiaries, the remains of Catiline’s accomplices.

the Augurship. I hope often to send you fine letters upon these subjects. But I want to know what it is that you throw out obscurely; that already some of the *Quinqueviri*³ themselves are beginning to speak out. What is this? for if there is any thing in it, it must be better than I had imagined. I would have you understand this, not as if I made these enquiries with any view of engaging myself in public affairs. I have long since been weary of steering the State, even when it was permitted me to do so: but now, when I am obliged to quit the ship, not throwing away, but taking in the rudder,⁴ I wish from the land to look at the shipwreck of those people; I wish, as says your friend Sophocles, "from under my roof to hear "the frequent dripping with a tranquil mind."

You will see what is necessary about the wall. I will correct the error of *Castricius*: yet *Quintus* had written to me 25,000⁵ *Sestertii*; now to your sister he says 30,000. *Terentia* salutes you. *Cicero* desires that you will an-

³ Who these five commissioners might be, or for what purpose they were appointed, does not appear.

⁴ The expression implies that he did not abandon the State in anger; but withdrew his guidance till some more favorable season, when his services might be available.

⁵ The text is evidently corrupt. I have supposed that it ought to be written H-S ((1)) ((1)) 1)). But it is impossible to ascertain the truth, and is of little moment.

swer for him to Aristodemus, in the same manner as you have done for his relation,⁶ your sister's son. I shall not neglect your information about Amalthea.⁷ Farewell.

LETTER VIII.

WHILE I was eagerly expecting a letter from you in the evening, as I usually do, I was informed that the servants had arrived from Rome. I call them in, and ask if they have any letters? They say no. What do you say, said I, is there nothing from Pomponius? Alarmed at my voice and countenance, they confessed that they had received a letter, but had lost it on their way. What think you? I was very much provoked; for all your letters lately had brought some useful or agreeable information. Now, if there was any thing deserving to be recorded in the letter you sent the 16th of April, write as soon as possible, that I may not remain in ignorance; or if there was nothing but good humour, yet repeat even that. Know that young Curio has been here to visit me. What he said about Publius, (Clodius), exactly agreed with your letters. He is wonderfully

⁶ In the original it is brother." See Book 1. Letter 1. They were really first cousins.

⁷ See Book 1. Letter xvi.

incensed against our haughty kings.¹ He said that the young men were equally angry, and could not bear this state of things. We are in a good way. If we can depend upon these people, let us, methinks, mind our own affairs.² I am engaged in history. At the same time, though you may think me another Saufeius,³ nothing is more indolent than I am. But let me explain to you my motions, that you may determine where you will come to me. I design to go to Formianum the middle of April.⁴ Then (since you think I ought to omit that delicate basin⁵ at this time) on the first of May I shall leave Formianum, that I may be at Antium on the third. For the games of Antium are to take place from the fourth to the sixth of May, and Tullia wishes to see them. Thence I think of going to Tusculanum, then to Arpinum, and to be at Rome on the first of June. Let me see you either in Formianum, or at Antium, or in Tusculanum. Replace your former letter, and add something new.

¹ Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompeius.

² Cease to trouble ourselves.

³ A philosopher of great study.

⁴ The Parilia was a festival celebrated on the 21st of April.

⁵ The place here meant is Baia, situated in the bay of Naples. See Book I. Letter XVI.

LETTER IX.

I HOPE you are well. Cæcilius, the Quæstor, having told me that he is going to send a servant, I have written this hastily, that I might elicit your marvellous dialogues with Publius, as well those which you mention, as that which you reserve, saying it is tedious to detail your reply; also that which has not yet taken place, which that Böopis¹ will relate to you upon her return from Solonium. I would have you believe nothing can be more agreeable to me. If the agreement relating to me is not kept I am in heaven.² This our Jerusalemite,³ who brings matters before the people, shall know what a fine return he has made for my choicest speeches, of which you may expect a distinguished counterpart.⁴ For, as well as I

¹ Cicero uses an epithet familiarly applied by Homer to Juno. He means by it to designate Clodia, who perhaps might be full-eyed, which the word signifies; and, besides, resembled Juno in cohabiting, as it was suspected, with her brother Clodius.

² That is, if the conspiracy against Cicero should be broken up, he may be at his ease.

Pompeius, who had captured Jerusalem. He had conducted the auspices at the time that Clodius's bill of adoption was brought before the people.

⁴ Παλινωδία, meaning that Cicero would now speak in accusation of Pompeius, whom he had formerly praised.

can guess, if that profligate⁵ is in favor with these mighty men,⁶ he will not be able to exult, not only over the Consular Cynic,⁷ but not over those Tritons of the stews. I can never be an object of envy when I am robbed of my power, and of all my Senatorian authority. But if he disagrees with them it will be absurd to attack me. However, let him if he will. Believe me, this revolution in the state has been made gaily, and with less noise than I had supposed; more speedily indeed than seemed possible; and that, partly through the fault of Cato; but, besides, through the shameful conduct of those, who neglected the auspices, the Ælian, the Junian, and Licinian law, the Cæcilian, and the Didian; who threw away all the resources of the constitution; who gave away kingdoms and estates to Tetrarchs; and to a few persons immense sums of money. I see now to what party envy will pass over, and where it will abide. Think that I have learned nothing either from experience, or from Theophrastus, if you do not shortly see people call out for those our times. For if the authority of the Senate excited envy, what do

⁵ Clodius.

⁶ Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompeius.

⁷ Cicero calls himself a cynic, as adopting a severe line of conduct, and intimates that the Triumvirs would no longer co-operate with Clodius against him, or those patrician epicures, when their loss of authority ceased to excite envy.

you think will be the case; when it is transferred, not to the people, but to three ambitious men? Therefore let them make whom they will Consuls, and Tribunes of the people; nay, let them clothe the Evil of Vatinius with the painted robe of the priesthood, you will shortly see not only those who have committed no offence, but even Cato himself, who is so guilty in their eyes, raised to great honor. As for myself, if your companion Publius permits it, I mean to act the philosopher; if he designs any thing, then only to defend myself; and, as becomes that profession, "I announce that I will repel any one who first insults me." Only let my country be favorable. It has received from me, though not more than is due, at least more than was demanded. I prefer being ill rowed under the steerage of another, to steering well with such ungrateful rowers. But these things may be discussed better when we meet. Now hear the answer to your inquiry. I intend to go from Formianum to Antium the third of May; from Antium I wish to go to Tusculanum on the seventh of May. But as soon as I leave Formianum, where I mean to stay till the end of April, I will immediately let you know. Terentia sends her compliments. The young Cicero salutes the Athenian Titus.⁸

⁸ Cicero concludes with a Greek form of salutation from his son to Atticus, whose prænomen was Titus.

LETTER X.¹

(GRÆV. XII.)

LET those men² deny, if they can, that Publius has been made a plebeian. It is a mere exercise of sovereignty, and is not to be born. Let but Publius send persons to attest it, and I will swear that our Cnæus, when he was colleague with Balbus, told me at Antium, that himself had conducted the auspices on the occasion. What two charming letters have been delivered to me from you, both at the same time! I do not know what remuneration I can make for them; but that some is due I freely acknowledge. Observe the concurrence of circumstances. I had just gone from the Antian into the Appian road at the Tres Tabernæ, on the festival of Ceres,³ when my friend Curio, coming

¹ This letter is the 12th in Grævius's edition; but is evidently misplaced, because it is alluded to in that which follows. This was written at 4 P.M. from the Tres Tabernæ, after Cicero had left Antium on his way to Formianum. The next was written at ten o'clock the same night from Appii Forum. The 12th after he was at Formianum.

² The Triumvirs, between whom and Clodius there was now the appearance of disagreement.

³ The Cerealia were celebrated in the second week of April. The precise day is variously computed from the 7th to the 12th.

from Rome, met me. At the same place presently came the servant from you with letters. Curio asked me if I had heard no news? I said, no. Publius, says he, is canvassing for the place of Tribune of the people. What think you? He is very angry with Cæsar, and threatens to rescind all his acts. How does Cæsar receive it, said I? He denies that he proposed any thing about his adoption. Then Curio declared his own hatred,⁴ and that of Memmius and Metellus Nepos. I took my leave of the young man, and hastened to your letters. Where are they, who speak of viva voce information? How much more fully have I learned from your letters, than from his conversation, what was doing, what were the daily surmises, the intention of Publius, the trumpet of Böopis,⁵ the standard bearer Athenio, the letters sent to Cnæus, the conversation of Theophanes and of Memmius. Besides, what an expectation have you given me of that licentious feast! I am dying with curiosity. Yet I shall be satisfied without your writing me an

⁴ Hatred of the power assumed by Cæsar.

⁵ This is meant of Clodia (see Letter ix.), who was urging her brother to extremities, as it were with a clarion, or war trumpet. The same figure is continued in applying to Athenio the term of standard bearer of sedition: Athenio had been the author of an insurrection in Sicily. Under this name Cicero probably means Vatinius.

account of that meeting, as I wish rather to hear it from your own mouth. As to your exhortation to write something; the materials indeed increase upon me, as you say; but the whole thing is yet in fermentation, and “during the autumn the wine is thick:” when it is settled, what I may write will be better digested. But if you cannot have any thing at present, at least you shall be the first to have it, and for some time the only one. You do well to like Dicæarchus: he is an honest man, and not a little better citizen than those rulers of iniquity.⁶ I have written this letter on the festival of Ceres, at four in the afternoon, the moment I had read yours; but with the intention of dispatching it to-morrow by the first person I meet.⁷ Terentia is delighted with your letter, and sends her kindest regards; and Cicero the philosopher⁸ salutes the statesman Titus.

⁶ In Greek *αδικαιαρχοι*, which it is impossible to translate so as to preserve the opposition to the name Dicæarchus; the latter signifying “a ruler of justice,” the former “rulers of iniquity.”

⁷ He was now on the Appian road, which was much frequented; and could not fail of presenting to him some person who would convey his letter to Rome.

⁸ This is said in Greek, after the Greek manner, as if Cicero and Atticus had changed conditions; Cicero now seeking retirement, while Atticus remained in the throng and business of Rome.

LETTER XI.

(GRÆV. X.)

PRAY admire my firmness. I do not mean to attend the games at Antium ;¹ for it carries with it an appearance of inconsistency, while I wish to avoid every suspicion of luxury, suddenly to be seen travelling not only delicately, but unbecomingly. I shall therefore wait for you in Formianum till the 7th of May. Let me know what day I may expect to see you. From Appii Forum, 10 P. M. I dispatched another letter a little before from the Tres Tabernæ.²

LETTER XII.

(GRÆV. XI.)

To tell you the truth, I seem as if I were banished since I have been in Formianum. While I was at Antium there was no day on which I did not know better what was doing at Rome, than those who were living there. For your letters acquainted me not only with the state

¹ See Letter VIII.

² The Appii Forum, and Tres Tabernæ, derive an interest from the mention of these places in S. Paul's journey to Rome. Acts xxviii. 15.

of Rome, but with that of the Republic at large; and taught me not only what happened, but also what was going to happen. Now, unless any thing is picked up from a casual passenger, I can hear nothing. Therefore, though I hope very soon to see you, yet let me have, by the servant, whom I have directed immediately to come back, some long letter, full not only of all that has been done, but likewise of your own opinions. Take care to let me know the day when you mean to leave Rome. I intend to remain in Formianum till the sixth of May. If you do not arrive before that day, I shall perhaps see you at Rome. For why should I invite you to Arpinum, "a rugged place, (as Ulysses says of "Ithaca¹), but a good nurse of youths; than "which nothing can in my eyes be more delicious." So much for the present. Farewell.

LETTER XIII.

A provoking circumstance, that nobody should have delivered the letter¹ I wrote to

¹ The original is taken from Homer's *Odyssey*, and is the more appropriate in being applied by Cicero to Arpinum, with feelings of affection towards his native place, with which Ulysses is represented to have said it of his own country, Ithaca.

¹ This is the tenth letter of this book.

you from Tres Tabernæ the same hour that I received your most acceptable intelligence. But you must know that the parcel, in which it was contained, was taken to my house² the same day on which I sent it, and from thence was brought back to me at Formianum. I have ordered this letter again to be taken to you, that you might be assured of the pleasure your's had given me. When you inform me that nothing is said in Rome,³ this is what I expected. But, I can tell you, people are not reserved in the country, nor can the country bear your⁴ tyranny. But if you come into this Telepylus Læstrygonia⁵ (Formiæ I mean), what a noise do people make? How irritated are their minds! In what destestation is our friend Magnus,⁶ whose appellation of Great begins to decay with that of the rich Crassus. Believe me, I have yet met with nobody who

² This must have been his house at Rome.

³ That is, nothing was said of the authority usurped by the Triumvirate.

⁴ By your tyranny is to be understood that which was exercised by the Triumvirs at Rome, where Atticus was staying.

⁵ Τηλεπυλος Λαισρυγονια, is an expression taken from Homer's Odyssey, the meaning of which is not exactly known. The place so denominated by Homer, was supposed to have been near Formiæ.

⁶ A name given to Pompeius, and signifying Great. See Book I. Letter xx.

could bear this state of things so quietly as I do. Therefore pray let us continue to enjoy our philosophical retirement; for I can aver upon my oath, that there is nothing worth contending for.⁷ If you have got your letters to the Sicyonians,⁸ hasten down to Formianum. I think of leaving it the sixth of May.

LETTER XIV.

How great an expectation do you raise in me about the discourse of Bibulus! How great about the conversation of Böopis! How great also about that dainty entertainment! Come then yourself to my thirsty ears. Though there is now nothing which I should think more to be apprehended, than that our Sampsiceramus,¹

⁷ I have given to this passage an interpretation something different from that commonly received, because I thought it more consonant to the usual phraseology of the ancient Romans, and to his own feelings, expressed in Letter VIII.—“Aliud agamus.”

⁸ Atticus had not been able to get from the people of Sicyon the tributes which he had rented. See Book I. Letter XIX. He appears to have staid in Rome to solicit letters to the Sicyonians for the payment of this money.

¹ It is generally agreed, that by this name, which recurs in several subsequent letters, is to be understood Pompeius. It is supposed to be the name of some Prince of Syria, conquered by Pompeius. It cannot but strike every reader, that the names under which he is mentioned in these letters should be so various, and often so extraordinary; perhaps in derision of some affected grandeur.

when he perceives that he is lashed by the discourses of all people, and sees these proceedings so easily overset, may begin to rush into violent counsels. For my own part, I am dispirited to that degree, that I prefer being enslaved in this indolence, in which I now pine away, to contending with the best hope of success.

In the way of composition, to which you often exhort me, nothing can be done. I live in a court house, not in a villa, owing to the throng of the Formians: for this Æmilian tribe would fill a court house.² But I say nothing of the generality, who after ten o'clock cease to trouble me. But then C. Arrius is my nearest neighbour; nay, he is now my very comrade, who even refuses to go to Rome, that he may philosophize here with me all the day long. On the other side is Sebosus, that friend of Catulus. Which way can I turn myself? I would absurdly go immediately to Arpinum, if I did not perceive that you might be expected with most convenience in Formianum; but only till the sixth of May. For see to what people my attention is given

² So I understand the text of the original; which is by no means clear, and may possibly be corrupt. Literally—"But what an Æmilian tribe (have I) equal to a court house?" The people of Formiæ being reckoned in the Æmilian tribe, are therefore called by that name.

up. It would be a fine opportunity if any body wished now to purchase my Formian estate; while these people are about me. And should I still attempt any thing? Let us forsooth undertake some great work, of much research and leisure! Nevertheless, I will endeavour to satisfy you; and will not spare my own pains.

LETTER XV.

I see, as you tell me, that things are not less uncertain in the state, than they are represented in your letter; but that very variety of reports and opinions delights me; for I seem to be in Rome when I read your letters; and, as it always happens in affairs of such magnitude, to hear sometimes one thing, sometimes another. There is one circumstance I cannot comprehend, what he can possibly devise for carrying into effect the Agrarian scheme without any opposition. What results from that firmness of Bibulus in the postponement of the Comitia, besides the exposition of his own opinion, without any correction of the evils of the Republic? Our hope then is in Publius. Let him, let him be made a Tribune of the people; if for nothing else, that you may the sooner come back from Epirus (for I take it for granted that nothing will prevent your going

thither),¹ especially if he wishes for any contention with me. For I do not doubt, if there should be any thing of this kind, you will hasten up. But if this should not be the case, whether he rush on to his own ruin, or whether he retrieve the condition of the state, I propose to myself a noble sight, if only it is permitted me to see it with you by my side.

As I was writing this, in comes Sebosus. I had hardly felt my vexation, when "Good morning," says Arrius. This is getting away from Rome! From whom is it I have escaped to fall into such hands? I must go "to my cradle and native hills."² In short, if I cannot be alone, I will rather live among mere rustics, than with these mighty civil people. However, as you say nothing certain about your motions, I will wait for you in Formianum till the fifth of May. Your attention and diligence in the Malvian dispute³ is extremely gratifying to Terentia. She is not aware that you are supporting the common cause of all who

¹ The meaning of the original has been variously understood. I have ventured to interpret it in a manner different from any that I have seen, and which appears to me sufficiently consonant with the Latin idiom, and with the context.

² The original is part of an hexameter verse from some unknown author.

³ This evidently relates to the leases of the public lands; but the particular meaning of the term is not known.

occupy the public lands. But you still pay something to the collectors of the revenue; she refuses even that. Both she, and the Aristocratical⁴ boy Cicero, send their compliments.

LETTER XVI.

THE thirtieth of April, as I was dozing after dinner, your letter was delivered to me, in which you speak of the Campanian land.¹ What think you? In the first place, it struck me in such a manner as effectually to remove my sleep; but this was through thoughtfulness, rather than uneasiness. And the result of my thoughts is this; first, from what you had mentioned in a former letter, of having heard from one of Cæsar's friends, that something was to be brought forward, to which nobody would object; I had apprehended something greater. This did not appear to be of that kind. Then, for my consolation, all expectation of the Agrarian bounty seems to have centred in the Campanian land; which, at ten acres a-piece, cannot maintain above five thou-

⁴ The expression indicates that the young Cicero was already zealous in behalf of the best interests of the Republic.

¹ A distribution of this land was to be made to the people.

sand men. All the remaining multitude must necessarily be alienated from them.² Besides, if there is any one thing more calculated than another to inflame the minds of good men, it is certainly this; and the more so, because the port duties being removed, and the Campanian land distributed, what domestic revenue remains besides the twentieth?³ and this I suppose will, in one little meeting, be extinguished by the shouts of a mob. What our Cnæus intends, I know not, that he could be wrought to such a pitch: “for he now breathes through no little “flageolet; but with a full breath, untempered by a reed.”⁴ Hitherto he pretended to approve Cæsar’s laws, but to leave it to him to defend his acts: that he liked the Agrarian law; but whether intercession could be made or not, was no business of his: that he was glad to have the affair of the King of Alexandria⁵ at length concluded; but whether Bibulus had been observing the heavens,⁶ or not, it was not his duty to enquire: that on the subject of the farmers of the revenue, he had wished to

² From Cæsar’s faction.

³ This was a tax upon the purchase and manumission of slaves.

⁴ The original is taken from Sophocles.

⁵ Ptolemy Auletes had applied to the Romans to support his title to the throne of Egypt.

⁶ When any of the principal magistrates were observing the auguries, it was unlawful to transact public business.

favor the order of knights; but that it was impossible for him to guess what would happen if Bibulus came down to the forum.⁷ But now, Sampsiceramus, what will you say? that if you have taken away from us the tribute of the Campanian land, you have appointed it to be levied on Mount Libanus?⁸ But how will you support this reasoning? I will keep you, says he, in subjection by Cæsar's army. But in truth you will not subject me so much by that army, as by the ungrateful spirits of those people, who bear the name of good; but who have returned me no thanks, no recompense of reward, or even of good words. Should I put myself forward against that faction, I might yet find some means of opposing them. I have now made this resolution; that as there is so great a controversy between your friend Dicæarchus, and my friend Theophrastus,⁹ the former preferring a life of business, the latter one of speculation, I will comply with both. Dicæarchus I have abundantly satisfied already: I now turn to that party, which not only allows me to be quiet, but reproves me for not having always been so. Let us then, O my Titus, address ourselves to those noble studies; and

⁷ Bibulus had been insulted on his way to the forum.

⁸ Having subjected Syria to the Roman arms.

⁹ Meaning the variance between worldly business, and philosophy.

at length return thither, from whence we ought never to have departed. What you say of my brother Quintus's letter to you, was equally true of that to me: it was "a lion in front, "and behind."¹⁰—I do not know what to call it: for at the beginning he deplores his stay¹¹ in such a manner as to be quite affecting; presently he is so easy about it, as to desire me to correct and publish his annals. I wish to direct your attention to what he says about the coast duties, and that he had, by the advice of his council, referred the business to the Senate. It appears that he had not yet read my letter, in which, after due consideration, I had explained to him that they ought not to be exacted. I should be glad, if any Greeks have yet come to Rome upon that account, that you would see them, and, if you think proper, would let them know my sentiments upon it. If I can manage so, that this good cause may not be lost in the Senate, I will endeavour to satisfy the renters;¹² but if not, (I must speak openly with you) I prefer satisfying all Asia, and the traders: for it is also of great importance to them. This I consider myself

¹⁰ The original is part of a verse of Homer describing the discordant compound of the monster Chimæra in the sixth Book of the Iliad.

¹¹ His being obliged to remain in his province.

¹² These are the knights farmers of the taxes.

bound to do. But you will see about it. Pray, do the Quæstors hesitate even about paying in cistophori?¹³ For, after having tried every thing, I must be content with this ultimate resource, if there is no other. I shall be glad to see you in Arpinatum, and will give you a country welcome, since you despise this by the sea-side.

LETTER XVII.

JUST as you say, so I find it: Sampsicramus is disturbed: there is nothing that may not be apprehended. He is confessedly preparing the way to tyranny. For, what means that sudden alliance?¹ what means the distribution of the Campanian land? or the money that is squandered? If this were all, it would be more than enough: but such is the nature of the thing, that it cannot end here. For how should this afford any pleasure? They never would have brought matters to such a state, but for the sake of opening a way to other mischievous counsels. Ye immortal Gods! But, as you say, in Arpinatum, about the thirteenth of May, we will not bewail these matters, lest all the

¹³ See above, Letter VI. of this Book, note 8.

¹ Pompeius had hastily married Cæsar's daughter, though she had been engaged to another man.

time and attention we have bestowed on literature be lost ; but we will calmly confer together. Nor do I, as formerly, derive consolation so much from any good hopes, as from indifference ; which I exercise in nothing so much, as in regard to civil and public affairs. Besides, I have a little vanity and conceit (it is well to know one's own faults), which is in some measure flattered ; for it used to sting me to think, that some six hundred years hence, the deserts of Sampsiceramus towards his country might eclipse my own. There is now no longer room for this apprehension : for he is so sunk, that Phocis Curiana² is honorable in comparison. But of this when we meet. You seem to me, however, likely to be at Rome at the time of my arrival ; which I shall not be sorry for, if it put you to no inconvenience. But if you do come, as you say, I wish you could get out from Theophanes, how Alabarches³ is disposed towards me. You will make enquiry therefore with your usual accuracy, and bring me from him some documents, as it were, by which I may regulate my conduct. We shall be able to learn something of the general state of affairs from his conversation.

² The exact meaning of this is not known ; the general sense is sufficiently obvious.

³ This is another name applied to Pompcius.

[The foregoing Letters were written from Cicero in the country to Atticus in Rome. This, and the following Letters, were from Cicero in Rome to Atticus in the country.]

LETTER XVIII.

I HAVE received several letters from you, by which I find with what doubtfulness and anxiety of mind you wish to be informed what news there is. We are beset on all sides: and we now no longer refuse to be enslaved; but dread death and banishment as greater evils; which are in truth much inferior ones. And this state, which all with one voice deplore, is not relieved by a word from any body. It is the aim of those in power, as I suspect, to leave nobody any favor to bestow. The young Curio¹ alone speaks out, and openly opposes them: he receives the greatest applause, is saluted in public with great honor, and has shewn him many other marks of kindness; while Fufius² is persecuted with hootings, reproaches, and hisses. From hence no hope is to be derived, but only the greater grief, when

¹ See Letter VIII. of this Book.

² Fufius was a creature of Cæsar's: he is mentioned before, Book I. Letter XIV.

you perceive the will of the city free ; its courage fettered : and that you may not have to ask after each particular in detail, the whole is reduced to such a state, that there is no hope, not only that individuals, but even that the magistrates can long remain free. But, amidst this oppression, conversation at least in private circles, and companies, is less reserved than it was. Our grief begins to overcome our fear ; yet so, that all is overwhelmed with despair. Even the Campanian law contains a denunciation, in the assembly of the candidates, against any body who shall presume to mention any other occupation of the land, than as it is proposed by the Julian laws. The other candidates do not hesitate to swear to these conditions ; Laterensis is thought to have acted wisely, in ceasing to solicit the tribunate, that he might not be obliged to swear. But I do not care to say any thing more about the Republic : I vex myself, and cannot write without the greatest pain. I support myself, considering this state of oppression, not dejectedly ; considering what I have formerly done, not at all courageously.

I am very kindly invited by Cæsar into his province, as his lieutenant : a free lieutenancy is also given me under color of a vow.³ But

³ Of these free lieutenancies notice has been taken, Book I. Letter x. note 5.

this is not a sufficient security in the moderate counsels of this pretty youth ;⁴ and banishes me from my brother when he arrives : the former is safer, and does not prevent my coming up, when I wish it. I hold this, but do not think I shall make use of it ; and nobody knows it. I do not like to run away : I wish to fight.⁵ The affections of people are very great ; but I do not speak positively. You will keep this to yourself.

Respecting the manumission of Statius,⁶ and some other matters, I am sorry indeed, but am now grown callous. I should be glad, or rather I should wish, that you were here : I should then want neither counsel, nor comfort. Be ready however, that if I call for you, you may fly to me.

LETTER XIX.

MANY things give me uneasiness, both from so great a commotion in the Republic, and from

⁴ Clodius : it alludes to his family name of Pulcher. The expression of " moderate counsels " is used ironically.

⁵ To contend with Clodius.

⁶ This Statius had acted in a manner to excite dissatisfaction, while he was with Q. Cicero in his government ; as appears from Cicero's Letters to Quintus, Book I. Letter II.

the dangers which beset me individually, and are six hundred fold. But nothing vexes me more than the manumission of Statius: "that neither my authority; but I omit authority; not even my displeasure should be respected."¹ I do not know what it is right to do: not that there is so much in the thing itself, as in the conversation it excites. I cannot be angry with those whom I greatly love; but I am sorry, indeed very sorry. As for other matters of more importance, as the threats of Clodius, and the struggles which are prepared for me, they affect me but little; for I conceive that I shall be able either to bear them with becoming dignity, or to avoid them without vexation. You will say perhaps, "enough of dignity; as they said of acorns, when they had found better food;"² think I beseech you of your "safety." Alas! why are you not here? nothing would escape you. I am perhaps blinded, and am too much given up to a sense of honor. Be assured, nothing ever was so disgraceful, so base, so offensive to all orders, ranks, and ages, as this present state of affairs: more so than I could wish, not only than I could have expected. Those courtiers of the populace

¹ This is taken from the Phormio of Terentius.

² This appears to be a Greek proverb, derived from the ancient use of acorns as food: they are still used in some parts of Spain.

have now taught even moderate people to hiss. Bibulus is extolled to the skies, I know not why; but he is so praised, as if "he alone by his check restored the State to us."³ Pompeius, my beloved, who now is my greatest pain, has been his own ruin: he retains not one supporter. I doubt whether it be through inclination, or fear, that he is obliged to join with them. For my own part, I neither fight with that cause, because of the friendship that subsists between us; nor do I approve it, lest I should condemn all that I have formerly done. I manage as I can. The sense of the people is clearly seen in the theatre, and public shews: for in the exhibition of gladiators, now the master, then the assistants⁴ were cut with hisses. In the Apollinarian games, Diphilus, the actor, attacked our friend Pompeius with petulance. He was obliged to repeat a thousand times that sentence, "you are great by our wretchedness:" and that—"the time will come when you will rue that courage," he pronounced with the shout of the whole theatre; and so of the rest: for the lines are such, that they seem to have been composed for the occasion by some enemy of

³ The original is a celebrated line of Ennius in praise of Fabius Maximus.

⁴ I suspect this may be meant of Cæsar and his co-adjutors.

Pompeius. "If neither laws nor morals com-
 "pel," &c. was spoken amidst great shouts of
 applause. After Cæsar had come in amidst a
 dead applause,⁵ the young Curio followed, and
 was cheered, as Pompeius used to be in the
 days of the Republic. Cæsar was greatly dis-
 turbed. Letters were said to be hastily dis-
 patched to Pompeius at Capua: they⁶ were
 angry with the knights who stood up to ap-
 plaud Curio: they were at enmity with all the
 people: they threatened the Roscian law,⁷ and
 and even the corn law.⁸ It was altogether a
 confused business. For my part, I should
 have liked better that their attempts might
 pass over in silence; but I fear this is impos-
 sible. People do not bear what however it
 seems necessary to bear: but there is now one
 general voice amongst all, confirmed by hatred,
 rather than by security. In the mean time
 our Publius threatens me, and is an open
 enemy. There hangs over me that business,
 for which you will fly up.⁹ I believe I have

⁵ So elsewhere it is said "semivivis mercenariorum vo-
 cibus." Pro Sext. § 59.

⁶ The Triumvirs, Cæsar, Pompeius, and Crassus.

⁷ By the Roscian law the knights had appropriate seats
 in the theatre separated from those of the common people.

⁸ By this law, corn was delivered to the populace at a
 reduced price.

⁹ This business was the tribunate of Clodius, which was
 not yet determined.

that consular host of all good men, even of all moderately good, firmly attached to me. Pompeius professes no common regard for me: at the same time he affirms that Clodius will not utter a word about me; in which he does not deceive me, but is himself deceived. Cosconius being dead, I am invited to fill his place in the commission for dividing the lands; that is, to supply the place of a dead man. Nothing would be more disgraceful for me in the eyes of men; nor would any thing be less calculated for the very purpose of security. For these commissioners are ill looked upon by the good; so that while I retained the ill will of the worst part of society, I should add to it that of the others. Cæsar wishes me to be his lieutenant. This would be a more honourable way of avoiding danger; but I now refuse this. How is it then? I choose rather to fight: however, there is yet nothing determined. I repeat that I wish you were here; but however if there is any necessity, I shall send for you. What more? what? it is this, that we may depend upon all being lost. For why should I so long dissemble the truth? but I write this in haste, and with some reserve. Hereafter, I will either write every thing plainly to you, if I can find a trusty messenger, to whom I may deliver my letters; or if I am obliged to write obscurely, yet you will understand it. In these letters

shall call myself Lælius, and you Furius : the rest will be in enigmas. I here diligently cultivate, and pay respect to Cæcilius.¹⁰ I hear that the edicts of Bibulus have been sent to you. Our Pompeius is burning with vexation and rage on their account.

LETTER XX.

I HAVE done every thing in my power for Anicatus, as I understood you wished. Numestius I have willingly received into friendship, from the regard with which you mentioned him ; Cæcilius I support in every way that I am able ; Varro¹ gives me great satisfaction ; Pompeius has a real love and affection towards me. Do you believe it ? you will say. I do believe it ; his conduct persuades me of it. But as I perceive practical writers, in all historical maxims, and even in verse, advise us to be cautious, and forbid to be credulous ; I shall do one of these two, and be cautious ; the other, not to believe, I cannot do. Clodiùs still denounces danger to me. Pompeius

¹⁰ Cæcilius was Atticus's uncle. He is mentioned before, Book i. Letter x.

¹ This is the same Varro who was afterwards esteemed the most learned of the Romans.

affirms that there is no danger ; nay, he swears it ; and adds even that he would sooner be killed himself, than I should be hurt. The affair is yet unsettled : as soon as any thing is determined, I will let you know. If it is necessary to fight, I shall summon you to share my troubles : if I am permitted to be quiet, I will not disturb you from your Amalthea. I shall write to you very briefly upon public affairs ; for I fear lest the paper itself should betray me. Hereafter therefore, if I have occasion to write more fully to you, I shall veil it in allegory. The State is dying by a new disease ; so that while all people blame what is done, complain, grieve, entertain no difference of opinion, and even speak out, and openly lament ; yet no remedy is offered. For we believe that no resistance can be made, which is not fatal ; and that there is no end of yielding, besides ruin. Bibulus is exalted to the skies with the admiration and favor of the people, who copy, and read, his edicts and speeches. He is arrived at the height of glory by a new method ; for nothing is now so popular, as hatred of the popular leaders : I fear what may be the issue of this. If I begin to see any thing, I will write to you more openly. If you love me, as indeed you do, keep yourself in readiness, that you may come up if I call : but I endeavour (and shall do so) to prevent the necessity of it. As to

what I said about calling you *Furius*, there is no need of changing your name. I shall make myself *Lælius*, and you *Atticus*; and I shall not use my own hand, or seal, provided the letters be of a kind which I should be sorry to have fall into other hands. *Diodotus* is dead: he has left me, perhaps, an hundred *Sestertia*² (£800). *Bibulus* has put off the *Comitia*, by an *Archilochian*³ edict, to the seventeenth of October. I have received the books from *Vibius*.⁴ He is a poor poet; and yet has some information: but upon the whole is not without his use. I shall have it transcribed, and send it back.

LETTER XXI.

ON the subject of the Republic why should I write to you minutely? The whole is ruined: and in one respect is more wretched than you left it; for then the tyranny which oppressed

² In the original it is *centies*, which would be H-S 10,000, or £83,000.; but it is probable the word may have been so copied by mistake for *centum*, which would make this bequest £833.

³ *Archilochus* was a severe satirist; so that the expression signifies that these edicts reflected severely upon the *Triumvirate*.

⁴ It appears by the 22nd Letter, that these books contained the poems of *Alexander*. It is probable that *Atticus* might have sent them to *Cicero* by *Vibius*.

the State seemed at least to be liked by the common people ; and though a cause of trouble to the better sort, yet it did not threaten their ruin. Now it has suddenly become so hateful to every body, that I dread to think where it may burst forth ; for we have already experienced the rage and intemperance of those men, who in their anger against Cato¹ have overturned every thing. But then they used such gentle poisons, that it seemed as if we might die without agony ; now I fear they will be rendered outrageous by the hisses of the populace, the language of the respectable citizens, the clamour of Italy. I had hoped indeed, as I often used to say to you, that the wheel of the Republic was so turned, as scarcely to be heard, scarcely to leave a track ; and so it would have been, if people could have waited to let the storm pass over : but after smothering their groans a long time, at last all have begun to speak, and to cry aloud ; so that my friend,² unused to reproach, always conversant with praise, and surrounded with glory, knows not where to turn himself in his present squalid appearance, and broken spirit. He sees it dangerous to proceed, weak to retreat ; he has made good people his enemies, and has not even the

¹ The stern supporter of old principles. With Cato must be supposed to be included other inflexible politicians of the same time.

² Pompeius.

bad for his friends. See now my tenderness of mind: I could not refrain from tears when I saw him, on the 22nd of July, addressing the people upon the edicts of Bibulus; him, I say, who formerly used magnificently to exalt himself in that very place, with the greatest affection of the people, and universal applause. How was he then humbled! how dejected! how did he displease not only his audience, but himself also! O spectacle! agreeable to Crassus alone, not so to others. For having descended, as it were, from the stars, it seemed a fall, rather than any advance. And as Apelles, if he saw his Venus, or Protogenes his Jalysus, smeared with mud, would, I conceive, feel great pain: so did I, with great pain behold him, whom I had painted and polished with all the colors of art, suddenly disfigured. Though nobody thought I owed him any friendship for his conduct in the Clodian business; yet such was my regard, that it was not to be exhausted by any act of unkindness. Bibulus's Archilochian edicts against him are so acceptable to the populace, that one cannot pass by the place where they are exhibited, for the throng of people who are reading them: to him they are so bitter, that he pines with vexation: to me they are distressing, because they give too much uneasiness to one whom I have always loved; and I am afraid lest one so powerful, so active with his sword, and so unaccustomed

to insult, should give way to grief and rage with all the force of his mind. What is likely to be the end of Bibulus, I cannot say; at present he is in surprising glory. Upon his putting off the Comitia to the month of October, Cæsar imagined that, this being a measure usually offensive to the people, he should be able, by addressing them, to persuade the assembly itself to go to Bibulus; but after uttering many very seditious expressions, he could not extract from them a single word. What say you? the Triumvirs feel that they have the good will of no party: so much the more reason have we to be afraid. Clodius is my declared enemy. Pompeius affirms that he will do nothing against me: it is dangerous to believe this; therefore I prepare myself to resist him. I trust I shall have the best wishes of all orders. When the time comes, not only I shall want you, but the circumstances themselves will call for you: I shall gain a great deal of advice, of courage, and of protection, if I have you with me at that time. Varro gives me satisfaction; Pompeius talks divinely. I hope I shall certainly be able to come off either with distinguished credit, or without mortification. Let me know what you are doing, how you amuse yourself, and how you have managed with the Sicyonians.³

³ See Book i. Letter xix.

LETTER XXII.

How I could wish that you had remained in Rome! you would certainly have remained, if we could have foreseen what has happened: we could easily restrain our pretty¹ youth, or at least we should be able to know what he was about. But now, this is the state of the business: he flies about, raves, follows no certain course, threatens many, and seems likely to act as chance may offer. When he sees the odium attached to the present state of affairs, he seems as if he would attack those who have occasioned it; but when again he recollects their influence, and the strength of their army, he directs himself against me; and to me he threatens both violence and prosecution. With him Pompeius has discoursed; and as he informed me himself (for I have no other witness) discoursed with vehemence; telling him that he should incur the utmost disgrace of perfidy and wickedness, if any danger should be brought upon me by him, whom he had himself invested with arms, when he suffered him to be made a plebeian: but that he, and Appius, had received his promise on my behalf; and that if he did not observe it, he should

¹ Publius Clodius.

resent it so, that the world might know nothing was dearer to him than my friendship. After saying this, and much more to the same purpose, he told me that Clodius first continued for some time to urge many things on the other side ; but at last gave up, and declared that he would do nothing contrary to Pompeius's wishes. Since then, however, he has not ceased to speak very severely of me ; and if he did not, still I should not trust him, but should prepare for every thing, as I do. Now I conduct myself so, that every day my friends and my influence increase. I keep altogether clear from public concerns ; and am busily engaged in causes, and the exertions of the forum. This I perceive is agreeable not only to those who use my assistance, but to the people generally. My house is frequented ; I am saluted ; the remembrance of my consulship is renewed. The favor of the people is manifest ; and I am in such hope, as sometimes to think the struggle which hangs over me is not a thing to be declined. I have now need of your advice, your affection, and fidelity ; therefore fly up : every thing will be easy to me, if I have but you. Much may be done through our friend Varro ; but it will be strengthened by your support. Much may be got from Publius himself ; much may be known, which cannot be kept secret from you ; much

also—but it is idle to enumerate each particular ; I shall then want you for every thing. Be assured of this, that every thing will be plain when I see you ; but all depends upon its being before he enters upon his office. While Crassus is urging Pompeius, I imagine if you are here (who by means of Bööpis² may learn from Clodius himself with what sincerity they are acting) I shall either be free from trouble, or at least free from error. You see what my wishes, what the occasion, what the importance of the case requires. Of the Republic I have nothing to write to you, but the great hatred of all people towards those who have possessed themselves of every thing: yet no hope of any change. But, as you may easily perceive, Pompeius is tired, and heartily repents. I cannot sufficiently foresee what issue is to be expected ; but these rancours must assuredly burst forth somewhere. I have sent back to you the books of Alexander ; a careless writer, and no good poet, yet not without his use. I have willingly received Numerius Numestius into my friendship, and have found him a sensible and prudent man, and worthy of your recommendation.

² Clodia. See Book II. Letter IX. note 1.

LETTER XXIII.

I BELIEVE you never before received a letter from me that was not written in my own hand. From that you may judge how much I am occupied: for having no spare time, and yet being obliged to walk about for the sake of recruiting my voice, I dictate this as I walk. In the first place then I would have you know, that our friend Sampsicramus is heartily sick of his situation, and wishes he could again be restored to that place, from which he has fallen. He imparts to me his uneasiness, and sometimes openly seeks a remedy; which it is impossible for me to find. Then, all the authors and adherents of that faction are losing their vigour; while there never was a more general consent in the wishes and expressions of all people. As for myself (for I know you will be glad to be informed), I interfere in no public counsels, and give myself up altogether to the business and labour of the forum; by which, as may easily be supposed, I am brought to the frequent relation, and regret, of my former deeds. But that kinsman of our Böopis casts no little terror, and threatens; and while he denies it to Sampsicramus, to others he professes and boasts of it: therefore if you love

me, as indeed you do, if you are asleep, wake up; if you are standing, walk; if you are walking, run; if running, fly. It is not to be believed how much (which is the most possible) I place in your counsels and prudence, how much in your affection and fidelity. The greatness of the occasion requires perhaps a long discourse; but to minds so united as ours, a few words are sufficient. It is of great importance to me, if you cannot be at Rome on the Comitia, at least that you may be there when he is declared Tribune. Farewell.

LETTER XXIV.

IN the letter I sent by Numestius, I called upon you with an earnestness and vehemence, which nothing could exceed: to that call add even, if you can, something more. Do not make yourself uneasy (for I know you, and am aware of the sollicitude and anxiety inseparable from real affection); but the case, as I hope, is less formidable in fact, than it seems in the relation. Vettius (the same who gave information at the time of my consulship) had promised Cæsar, that he would contrive to bring the young Curio into some suspicion of criminality. He therefore insinuated himself into the familiarity of the young man; and

having, as it appears, frequent meetings with him, he at length brought matters to such a state, that he declared his determination to assault Pompeius with the assistance of his slaves, and to kill him. Information of this was given by Curio to his father, and by him to Pompeius. The affair was brought before the Senate. Vettius being introduced, at first denied that he had ever been concerned with Curio: but this did not last long; for he presently demanded a public pledge of security upon his giving evidence: this was not opposed. Then he gave out, that there had been a band of young men under the conduct of Curio; amongst whom had originally been Paullus, and Q. Cæpio Brutus, and Lentulus, the son of the Flamen, not without the knowledge of his father; that afterwards C. Septimius, the secretary of Bibulus, had brought him a dagger from Bibulus: which was all absurd; as if Vettius would have been without a dagger unless the Consul had given him one. And this was the more scouted, because on the 13th of May Bibulus had warned Pompeius that he ought to be upon his guard, and Pompeius had thanked him for it. Young Curio being introduced, deposed in answer to what Vettius had said; and Vettius was then chiefly convicted by his own assertion, that it had been the advice of the young men to attack Pom-

peius in the forum with the gladiators of Gabinius; and that Paullus was at the head of it; though it was known that he was at that time in Macedonia. A decree of the Senate was then passed, that Vettius should be put in prison for having confessed that he had carried arms; and that whoever liberated him would be an enemy to the Republic. The general opinion of this affair was, that it had been designed Vettius and his slaves should have been apprehended in the forum with a dagger and with arms; and then he should have offered to confess. And this would have been done, if the Curios had not previously given information to Pompeius. The decree of the Senate was then read in the Assembly of the people: but the next day Cæsar, who formerly, when he was Prætor, had obliged Q. Catulus to speak from below,¹ now brought Vettius forwards on the rostra, and placed him in a situation, to which the Consul Bibulus was not permitted to aspire.² Here he said whatever he pleased about the Republic; and having come ready prepared, he first omitted any mention of Cæpio, whom he had named with acrimony in

¹ Private persons were not allowed to ascend the rostra without the invitation of some magistrate.

² Bibulus, who was joint Consul with Cæsar, was prevented from appearing in public by apprehensions of being insulted.

the Senate ; so that it was manifest the night, and some nightly management, had interceded ; in the next place, he named some, whom in the Senate he had not touched with the slightest suspicion ; as Lucullus, from whom he said C. Fannius used to be sent to him ; the same who had set his name to the accusation of P. Clodius ; also L. Domitius, whose house had been fixed upon as the place from whence their eruption might be made. He did not name me ; but mentioned that a certain speaker, of consular rank, and neighbour to the Consul,³ had suggested to him, that some Ahala Servilius,⁴ or Brutus,⁵ must be found. He added at last, upon being called back by Vatinius, after the assembly was dismissed, that he had understood from Curio, that my son-in-law Piso, and M. Laterensis, were privy to these machinations. Vettius was at this time charged before Crassus Dives for violence ; and upon being found guilty, meant to claim the benefit of turning evidence ; which if he had obtained, it was probable several trials would have followed. This did not much alarm me, who

³ Cicero's house in Rome was not far from Cæsar's.

⁴ Ahala Servilius had killed Sp. Melius on suspicion of aspiring to kingly power.

⁵ Brutus, as is well known, had been the cause of Tarquinius's being driven from the throne, and of the extinction of the regal power.

however am not used to disregard any thing. Indeed I had the strongest marks of favor shewn me : but I am quite weary of my life, so full are all things of all sorts of miseries. A little while ago we had been apprehensive of a massaere, which the speech of that firm old man Q. Considius⁶ had dispelled : that which we might have apprehended every day, has suddenly sprung up. What think you ? Nothing is more unfortunate than I ; nothing more fortunate than Catulus,⁷ both from the splendor of his life, and from the character of these times. Yet in the midst of these calamities, I preserve a firm and unruffled mind, and maintain my dignity honorably and carefully. Pompeius bids me lay aside all uneasiness on the subject of Clodius ; and on every occasion professes the greatest kindness towards me : but I want you to direct my counsels, to share my anxieties, and to take part in all my thoughts. Therefore, as I desired Numestius to use his influence with you, so I beg you even more earnestly, if possible, to fly up to us. I shall get new life, if I see you.

⁶ Cæsar had committed some acts of violence, and had filled the assembly with armed men, when the law was to be passed which gave him the government of Gaul for five years. Many senators absented themselves ; but Considius came forward, saying, that he was too old to fear death.

⁷ Q. Catulus had died the year before.

LETTER XXV.

WHEN I commend one of your friends to you, I like him to know from you, that I have done so. As lately, when I wrote to you of Varro's attention to me, you said in return that you were very glad of it: but I would rather you had written to him, to assure him that I was sensible of his kindness; not so much because he actually gave me satisfaction, as that he might continue to do it; for, as you know, he has wonderfully moderated those involved and unwholesome counsels. But I observe that maxim, that it is necessary to bear the extravagancies of those who are in power: while your other friend Hortensius,¹ with how full a hand, how nobly, how eloquently has he raised to the stars my praises, in speaking of the prætorship of Flaccus, and that time of the Allobroges! Believe me, nothing could have been said more kindly, more honorably, or more copiously. I wish you would write to inform him that I have mentioned this to you. But why should you write? when I imagine you are coming yourself, and are almost here;

¹ In the original it is Hortalus, which was one of the names of Hortensius; but being less commonly known, I have not thought fit to preserve it in the translation.

so much have I urged you in former letters. I very much look for you, very much want you ; and not I, more than the cause itself, and the time, call for you. On the present state of affairs what should I write to you, but a repetition of the same thing ? Nothing can be more hopeless than the condition of the Republic ; nothing more hated than those who have occasioned it. So far as belief, and hope, and conjecture go, I am supported by the strongest favor of all people. Fly up therefore ; you will either extricate me from all uneasiness, or you will share it with me. I am the shorter, because I hope we shall very soon be at liberty personally to converse together as we please. Farewell.

[*In the interval between this and the following Letters, Atticus went up to Rome at his friend's request. Clodius in the mean time, having been appointed Tribune of the people, spared no means to gain the populace, and at length promulgated a decree against such as had put to death a Roman citizen without the sentence of the people. ♦ This was evidently levelled at Cicero's conduct in the suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy : upon which, seeing the disposition of men's minds, he withdrew from the city, and was presently followed by a decree of banishment.*]

BOOK III.

LETTER I.

(GRÆV. III.)

I WISH I may ever have reason to thank you for compelling me to preserve my life : hitherto I am very sorry. But I intreat you to come to me immediately at Vibo, to which place many causes have directed me. If you come thither, I shall be able to consult about my whole journey and flight. If you refuse to do this, I shall be surprised ; but I trust you will do it.

LETTER II.

THE reason of my coming hither was, that there was no place where I could any longer remain unmolested so well as on Sica's estate ; especially while the law for my banishment had not yet been finally amended. At the same time I knew that I could easily go back to

Brundisium, if I had you with me ; but without you I could not continue in those parts, on account of Antronius.¹ Now, as I mentioned to you before, if you come to me, we will consult upon this whole business. I know the journey is troublesome ; but this great calamity is full of troubles. My spirits are too much broken, and depressed, to admit of my writing more. Farewell. Dated the 8th of April, from the shores of Lucaniæ.

LETTER III.

(GRÆV. IV.).

I WOULD have you attribute it to my misfortunes, rather than to fickleness, that I have left Vibo, whither I had invited you ; for I have received a draft of the law for my ruin ; by which I find that the amendment I had heard of, permits me to remain at any place exceeding the distance of 400 miles. But not being permitted to go that distance by the way I had

¹ By "those parts," Cicero probably means Greece ; where Antronius, and others of the Catilinarian conspirators resided, so as to render it unsafe for him to proceed to Buthrotum, (where we may suppose that Atticus had offered him an asylum,) unless he had the protection of Atticus's presence. Brundisium was the port from whence people passed into Greece. Vibo was opposite to Sicily.

intended,¹ I immediately turned my course towards Brundisium, previously to the passing of the law, lest I might involve Sica, with whom I was staying, in my ruin ; and also because I was not suffered to be at Malta. Now make haste to join me, if only I can meet with any one to take me in. Hitherto I have met with a kind reception ; but I am apprehensive of what is to come. I repent, my Pomponius, of being yet alive ; in which matter you have principally influenced me. But of this when we meet : only manage to come.

LETTER IV.

(GRÆV. I.)

As I before thought it of importance to have you with me ; so especially, upon reading the form of the law, I understood that nothing could happen more desirably for the journey I determined upon, than that you should join me as soon as possible : that after leaving Italy, in case my road should lie through Epirus, I might have the benefit of your advice. I beg therefore that you will take pains to join me without

¹ Cicero had designed to pass his exile in Sicily, or Malta ; but being prevented from executing this plan, he determined to go by the way of Macedonia into some of the nearest parts of Asia Minor.

delay. You may do it the easier, since the law respecting the province of Macedonia¹ has been passed. I would use further arguments with you, if the state of affairs did not itself speak to you on my behalf.

LETTER V.

TERENTIA often acknowledges her obligations to you in the strongest terms ; which is highly gratifying to me. I live in great wretchedness, and am worn out with excessive grief. I know not what to say to you. For if you are still in Rome, you cannot now come up with me ; and if you are on your road, as soon as you have come up with me, we shall arrange together what is to be arranged. I only beg that you will continue in the same affection you have always born me ; for I am still the same. My enemies have taken away from me my goods, but not myself. Farewell. Dated the 10th of April, at Thurium.¹

¹ The appointment of the government of Macedonia was probably of some importance to Atticus on account of his private affairs. It was allotted to the Consul Piso, who appears to have been a base, hypocritical man, in the interest of Clodius.

² Thurium was a town at the extremity of Italy, formerly distinguished for luxury, and known by the name of Sybaris.

LETTER VI.

I HAD not doubted but I should see you at Tarentum, or Brundisium. Many reasons made me wish it; among the rest, that I might stop in Epirus, and take your advice on the rest of my affairs. Since this has not happened, I shall place this also in the long catalogue of my misfortunes. I shall proceed into Asia, particularly to Cyzicum.¹ I commend my family to you: I hardly, and wretchedly support myself. Dated the 18th of April, from the neighbourhood of Tarentum.

LETTER VII.

I ARRIVED at Brundisium the 18th of April. The same day your servant delivered to me your letter; and, the third day after, another servant brought me another letter. Your kindness in inviting and pressing me to go to your house in Epirus, is very gratifying to me, and nothing new, and what I should wish to do, if I might spend my whole time there;¹ for I

¹ Cyzicum was situated on the Asiatic side of the Propontis.

² Atticus's place in Epirus lay within the proscribed

dislike places that are frequented: I avoid mankind, and can hardly bear to see the light. That retirement would not be unpleasant to me, especially in so familiar a place; but to turn aside for the sake of making an excursion thither, is, in the first place, out of my way; then, it would expose me to Antonius, and the rest of that set, for four days journey; and would, besides, be without you. For a fortified castle, if I were living there, might be desirable; to a mere passenger would be useless. If I dared, I would go to Athens: I certainly should like it: but at this time many of my enemies are there; and I have not you with me; and I fear they may interpret even that city to be not sufficiently distant from Italy: nor do you say on what day I may expect you. By calling upon me to preserve my life, you produce only this effect, of preventing me from laying hands on myself; you cannot prevent my repenting of my determination, and of my life: for what is there that should attach me to it? especially if there is no longer that hope, which accompanied me in my flight. I will not attempt to enumerate all the miseries into which I have fallen through the ex-

distance, or so near to it, that Cicero did not feel himself at liberty to reside there in security. He was even apprehensive that some of his enemies might deem Athens to be too near to Italy.

treme malice and wickedness, not so much of my enemies, as of my enviers; lest I should exasperate my own grief, and bring you into the same distress. This I affirm, that nobody was ever affected with so heavy a calamity, nobody had ever more reason to wish for death; the most honorable time for which has already passed by: the time that remains may bring an end to my trouble, but not a remedy. On the subject of the Republic, I see you collect every thing which you think can afford me any hope of a change of circumstances. Little as this is, yet, since you will have it so, let us wait for it. In the mean time, if you make haste, you will yet be able to join me; for I shall either go into Epirus, or shall pass slowly through Candavia.² My doubt about Epirus is not owing to my irresolution, but to my uncertainty where I may meet with my brother, whom indeed I know not how I shall be able either to see, or to take leave of. This is the greatest and saddest of all my miseries. I would write to you oftener, and more at length, if my grief did not take away all the powers of my mind, and above all the power of writing. I long to see you. Farewell. Dated the 30th of April, at Brundisium.

² Candavia was a mountainous district on the borders of Macedonia.

LETTER VIII.

ON leaving Brundisium, I informed you why I did not go into Epirus; because of its vicinity to Greece, which was full of daring enemies; and because the passage out was difficult, when I might wish to leave it. Besides this, I received two messages while I was at Dyrrachium;¹ one to say that my brother would go by sea from Ephesus to Athens; the other, that he would go by land through Macedonia. I sent therefore to Athens, to desire that he would come from thence to Thessalonica;² and went myself to Thessalonica, where I arrived the 23d of May. I have heard nothing certain about his journey, except that he had a little before left Ephesus. I am now full of alarm about the proceedings at Rome;³ for though you tell me, in a letter dated the 15th of May, that you had heard he was likely to be brought to a severe account; and in another

¹ A port of Albania, opposite to Brundisium.

² Thessalonica, a principal city of Macedonia, the same where S. Paul established one of the first Christian churches, and to which he has addressed two Epistles.

³ Proceedings relating to Quintus Cicero's administration of his province of Asia, which comprehended the western part of Asia Minor.

letter, that things were now more favorable ; yet this last is dated a day earlier than the other, which adds to my uneasiness : so that while my daily trouble distresses and wastes me, this additional vexation leaves me scarcely any life remaining. But the voyage is a very difficult one ; and from his uncertainty where I might be, he may perhaps have taken a different course. For Phaëto, his freed-man, has not seen him ; but being driven back by the wind into Macedonia, he met me at Pella. I see how much reason I have to fear what is to come, nor do I know what to say. I am afraid of every thing ; for there is nothing so miserable that may not happen in my present circumstances. Wretched enough before in my great afflictions and sorrows, with the addition of this apprehension, I remain at Thessalonica in suspense, and have no courage for any thing. Now, in answer to your enquiries, I have not seen Trypho Cæcilius. Your conversation with Pompeius I have understood from your letter. I do not see so great a commotion to hang over the Republic, as you either see, or represent with a view of comforting me : for the business of Tigranes having passed over, all difficulties seem to be removed.⁴ You desire

⁴ Clodius had, in consideration of a large sum of money, contrived to get the son of Tigranes out of Pompeius's custody, though not without a struggle, in which some lives were lost. This was likely to have caused a division

me to return thanks to Varro, which I will do, and likewise to Hypsæus. I think of following your advice in not going further off till the decrees of May are brought to me; but where I shall remain, I am not yet determined; for I am so uneasy about Quintus, that I can resolve upon nothing: but I will immediately let you know. From the irresolution apparent in my letters, I imagine you perceive the disturbance of my mind; which, though I am afflicted with an inconceivable and heavy calamity, is not however so much owing to the greatness of my misfortune, as to the recollection of my own fault; for you now see by whose iniquity⁵ I have been led on, and betrayed. I wish you had perceived it sooner, and had not, with me, given up your whole mind to grief. When therefore you hear of my being oppressed and worn out with sadness, remember that I am more affected with the penalty of my folly, than with the event itself; that I should have trusted him, without suspecting his wickedness. The sense of my misfortunes, and apprehension for my brother, stop my writing. See after, and regulate all these matters. Terentia returns you the greatest thanks. I have sent you a copy of the letter which I wrote to Pompeius. Dated the 29th of May, at Thessalonica.

among the Triumvirs, Clodius being supported by Cæsar. But it seems to have passed over.

⁵ This is meant of Pompeius.

LETTER IX.

MY brother Quintus having left Asia before the first of May, and reached Athens on the fifteenth, was obliged to make great haste, that his absence might not expose him to difficulty, in case there should be any body not yet satisfied with the sum of my misfortunes. I wished him therefore rather to hasten to Rome, than to come to me. At the same time (for I will confess the truth, from which you may perceive the greatness of my sufferings) I could not bring my mind either to look upon him, who was so attached to me, under the effect of such affliction; or present before him, and suffer him to behold my own wretchedness sunk in grief, and my ruined condition. I dreaded also, what would certainly have happened, that he might be unable to quit me. I contemplated the time when he would either be obliged to dismiss his Lictors,¹ or would be forcibly torn from my embrace. The effect of this bitterness I have avoided by another bitterness, of not seeing my brother. You, who

¹ The provincial governors were allowed to retain their Lictors, and fasces, the ensigns of their rank, till they returned to Rome; but might be obliged to dismiss them previously, if they used unnecessary delay.

made me preserve my life, have driven me into this situation. I now pay the penalty of my error; though your letters encourage me; from which I easily perceive the amount of your own hopes. These indeed afforded me consolation, till you came to that part—"after Pompeius, now gain over Hortensius, and people of that description." I beseech you, my Pomponius, do you not yet see by whose means, by whose treachery, by whose baseness, I am ruined? But of this we will talk when we meet. I only say, what I imagine you know, that it is not my enemies, but my envious, who have undone me. Now, if indeed things are as you hope, I will support myself, and use my best endeavours, with that hope which you bid me entertain. But if, as it appears to me, things are fixed and settled; what I was not permitted to do in the best manner, must be done in one less becoming.² Terentia often acknowledges her obligations to you. One of my troubles in apprehension, is the

² Alluding to his death. Suicide was not then held to be either a crime, or a disgrace. Cato and Atticus adopted it in perfect conformity with the principles of their respective sects. Cicero here, as elsewhere, plainly exposes one leading principle of the Academics, to whose sect he belonged, that when they were unable to do what they considered to be best, they ought to do that which was next best.

business of my poor brother. When I know how this will be determined, I shall know what I ought to do. The expectation of letters, and of those advantages which you hold out, keeps me, as you advise, at Thessalonica. If any news arrives, I shall know what is hereafter to be done. If, as you mention, you left Rome on the first of June, we shall very soon meet. I send you the letter which I wrote to Pompeius. Dated the 13th of June, at Thessalonica.

LETTER X.

WHAT has taken place up to the 25th of May, I have learned from your letters; the rest I waited to hear at Thessalonica, as you advised. When this account arrives, I shall more easily be able to determine where I shall be; for if there is occasion, if any thing is done, if I see any hope, I will either remain where I am, or will go to your house in Epirus. But if, as you say, these prospects should have vanished, I must make some other arrangement. Hitherto you shew me nothing besides the disagreement of those people;¹ which however relates to every thing rather than to me. I do not see therefore how this can help me: still as long as you

¹ The Triumvirs, Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompeius.

encourage me to hope, I will obey you: for when you charge me so often and so severely, and upbraid me with want of courage, I beseech you, what evil is there which does not enter into my calamity? who ever fell at once from such a lofty state? in so good a cause? with such force of talents, and wisdom, and favor? such support from all honest men? Can I forget what I was? Can I help feeling what I am? what honor I have lost? what glory? what children? what fortunes? what a brother? whom (to teach you a new species of calamity) though I loved him, and have always loved him, more than myself, yet I avoided seeing, that I might neither be witness to his grief and mourning, nor present myself to him in ruin and affliction, whom he had left in the height of prosperity. I omit other grievous considerations; for I am prevented by tears. And ought I then to be reproached for my sadness? or rather for having committed so great a fault, as not to retain these advantages (which might easily have been done, if plots for my destruction had not been laid within my own walls), or at least not to lose them but with my life? I have mentioned this, that you might rather relieve me, as you do, than that you should think me deserving of reproach and blame. And I write the less to you, because I am interrupted by my sorrows;

and in truth I have more to expect from thence, than to say myself. If any intelligence is brought me, I will acquaint you with my determination. I wish you to write to me, as you have hitherto done, about every thing, that I may not remain in ignorance on any point. Dated the 18th of June, at Thessalonica.

LETTER XI.

YOUR letters, and some favorable reports, though not on the best authority, and the hope of hearing further from you, and your advice, have all kept me at Thessalonica. When I shall have received the letters I expect, if there is indeed that hope which has been encouraged by rumours, I will go to your house: if it is otherwise, I will take care to inform you what I do. Continue to assist me, as you do, with your exertions, your advice, and influence. Have done with consolation, and cease to upbraid me. When you do so, I seem to have lost your affection, and to have lost your sympathy; whom I conceive to be so affected with my misfortunes, that you are yourself inconsolable. Support my excellent and kind brother Quintus. I beg you to write to me fully every thing that may be depended upon. Dated the 28th of June.

LETTER XII.

You argue seriously about what may be hoped, especially through the Senate ; and at the same time you add, that the clause of the law (for my banishment) is stuck up,¹ by which nothing is allowed to be said, and accordingly nothing is said. In this state of things do you blame me for being afflicted ? while I am, as you yourself know, in such affliction, as nobody ever felt. You hold out hopes from the new elections ; but what hope is there with the same Tribune of the people,² and a hostile Consul elect ?³ I am much hurt about the speech⁴ which has been brought forward. Try, if possible, to heal this wound. I wrote it long since in anger, because he had first attacked me ; but I had so suppressed it, that I never imagined it would get about. How it should have got out I do not know ; but as it never happened that I had any dispute with him in person ; and as it seems to me to be written

¹ See Letter xv. Quoddam caput legis Clodium in Curia poste fixisse, ne referri, neve dici liceret.

² Cicero apprehended that Clodius might again be elected Tribune for the ensuing year.

³ Q. Metellus Nepos, who when Tribune would not permit Cicero to address the people upon laying down his consulship.

⁴ Perhaps against Curio. See Letter xv.

more carelessly than my other speeches ; it may possibly be concluded not to be mine. I should wish, if you think I can by any means be re-established, that you would do what you can in this business : but if I must needs be undone, I am less solicitous about it. I continue still in the same place, without any power of conversing, or thinking. Though, as you mention, I had expressed a wish that you might come to me at Dodon ;⁵ yet I understand that where you are,⁶ you are of real use to me, and that here you could not relieve me by one word of comfort. I am unable to write more ; nor indeed have I any thing to say. I expect rather to hear from you. Dated the 17th of July, at Thessalonica.

LETTER XIII.

(GRÆV. XIV.)

FROM your letters I am full of expectation about Pompeius, what he may intend, or declare concerning me ; for I imagine the Comitia are over ; after which you mention that he wished to have my case considered. If my

⁵ It is doubtful what this means, or whether there may not be some error in the text.

⁶ At Rome.

hopes make me appear foolish to you, I entertain them by your desire; though I am aware that your letters have rather been calculated to check me and my expectations. I should be glad now to hear distinctly what you think. I know that I have fallen into this trouble by the many faults I have committed. If any chance should in any degree rectify them, I shall the less regret that I have lived, and continue to live. On account of the constant communication of this road, and my daily expectation of news, I have not yet moved from Thessalonica: but I am now driven away, not by Plancius¹ (for he would rather keep me), but by the nature of the place itself, which is ill calculated to bear the pain of such calamities. I did not go into Epirus, as I had mentioned, because lately all accounts and letters had agreed, that there was no occasion for my being so near Italy. Therefore, as soon as I hear the event of the elections, I shall go into Asia, though I am not yet certain to what place; but you shall hear. Dated the 21st of July at Thessalonica.

¹ Cn. Plancius, a friend of Cicero, was Quæstor under L. Appuleius, who had the prætorian government of Macedonia.

LETTER XIV.

(GRÆV. XIII.)

AFTER seeing my hopes diminish, and at length vanish, I changed my intention, which I had mentioned to you, of going into Epirus; nor have I moved from Thessalonica, where I determined to remain till I should hear something from you about what you mentioned in your last letter; that something would be proposed in the Senate on my behalf as soon as the Comitia were over; and that Pompeius had told you so. Wherefore since the Comitia are passed, and you say nothing, I thence consider it the same as if you had written to tell me that nothing was done: nor shall I regret having been led by the hope of so near a termination.¹ But as to the commotion which you said you foresaw, and which seemed likely to turn to my advantage, they who have lately arrived, say there will be none. My remaining hope is in the Tribunes elect. If I wait for this, you will have no reason to think me inattentive to my interest, and to the wishes of my friends. When you blame me for bearing my misfortunes so heavily, you ought to excuse

¹ I agree with M. Mongault in understanding this to mean the hope he had cherished of being soon restored.

me, seeing that I am afflicted as you never saw, or heard, any one to be. For as to what you say you hear, of my grief having turned my head; my head is sound enough. I wish it had been so in the time of my danger, when I was so unkindly and cruelly treated by those whom I supposed to have been my friends; who when they saw me begin to waver in my resolution, urged me on in such a manner, as to use all their wickedness and perfidiousness to my destruction. Now, since I am going to Cyzium, where I shall have fewer opportunities of receiving letters, I hope you will be the more particular in letting me hear every thing which you think I ought to know. Continue to love my brother Quintus. If in my own wretchedness I leave him safe, I shall not esteem myself wholly ruined. Dated the 5th of August.

LETTER XV.

ON the 13th of August I received four letters from you: one, in which you reproach me with want of firmness; another, in which you mention that a freed-man of Crassus had told you of my anxiety and emaciation; the third, in which you inform me what has been done in the Senate; the fourth, about what you say Varro had confirmed to you respecting the

disposition of Pompeius. To the first I reply, that my grief is so far from affecting my understanding, that it is an additional source of grief to have no opportunity, no person with whom I may employ that understanding, which is unimpaired. For if you cannot without uneasiness lose me alone; what do you suppose I must feel, who lose you and every body? And if you, who are living in security, yet want me; how do you suppose I must want that very security itself? I do not care to enumerate all that has been taken from me; not only because you are already acquainted with it, but also that I may not aggravate my affliction. This I affirm, that nobody was ever bereft of such great advantages, or ever fell into such miseries. Moreover, time does not only not mitigate this distress, but even augments it. Other troubles are softened by age; this cannot fail daily to increase, both from the sense of actual misery, and from the recollection of my past life: for I want not merely my goods, and my friends, but myself. For what am I? But I will not be the occasion either of distressing your mind with lamentations, or of handling, oftener than is necessary, my own wounds. For as to exculpating those, whom I mentioned to have injured me, and, among the rest, Cato; I am so far from imagining him to be implicated in that crime, that it is a great source of

trouble to me that the pretences of others should have had more weight with me, than his honesty. The others, whom you exculpate, ought to stand excused by me, if they are so by you. But about these things we trouble ourselves too late. As for Crassus's freed-man, I imagine he is not sincere in any thing he has said. You describe the business to have been well managed in the Senate. But what says Curio? Has he not read that ¹speech, which has been brought forward I know not from whence? Axius however, giving me an account of the transactions of the same day, does not so much commend Curio. But he may have omitted something: you have assuredly said nothing beyond the fact. The conversation of Varro affords some hope of Cæsar. I wish Varro may himself engage in my cause; which I am persuaded he will do, both of his own accord, and from your sollicitation. Should fortune ever restore me to the possession of you and my country, I shall certainly endeavour to give you, of all my friends, the greatest cause to rejoice at it; and shall so fulfil the demands of duty and affection, (which have before, I confess, been too little manifested,) that you shall think me restored to you, no less than to my brother and my children. If I have in any thing behaved ill towards you, or rather

¹ See Letter XII.

since I have done so, pray pardon me ; for I have behaved much worse towards myself. I do not write this because I am not fully aware of the part you bear in my great affliction : but in truth if the regard you have, and have had for me, had been deserved on my part, you never would have suffered me to remain in want of that prudence in which you abound ; nor would you have suffered me to be persuaded that it was to my advantage to have the law concerning the companies² carried through. But you administered to my grief nothing but tears, the effect of your love ; as I did myself. Whatever might have been effected, had I possessed claims upon you to consider day and night what I ought to do ; that has been omitted, not through your fault, but mine. But if not merely you, but any body, when I took alarm at the ungenerous reply of Pompeius,³ had called me back from that disgraceful counsel,⁴ which you of all people was most able to do, I should either have fallen with honor, or should now live victorious. You must forgive me what I say ; for I accuse myself much the most ; next I accuse you, as another self, and at the same time an associate

² These companies, which were instituted for purposes of police, were abused to foment cabals and violences.

³ That he could do nothing without the consent of Cæsar.

⁴ Of quitting the city.

in my fault. If I am restored, I shall think myself even less to blame; and shall certainly possess your affection through your own kindness, since it will be independent of any received from me.

Concerning the conversation which you mention to have had with Culeo on the invalidity of a private law;⁵ there may be something in it; but it is much better to have it abrogated. For if nobody prevents it, what can be more secure? Or if any body should not allow it to be carried, the same decree of the Senate will still operate to invalidate it. Nor is there need of any thing else besides the abrogation; for the former of Clodius's two laws did not affect me.⁶ And if, at the time of its promulgation, I had either thought fit to approve it; or, as it deserved, to disregard it, it could have done me no harm. Here first my judgment failed, or rather injured me. I was blind, I say; blind in changing my habit, and supplicating the people; which, unless I should have been attacked by name, was prejudicial to me. But I am going back to things that are past. It is however

⁵ Laws relating to individuals were prohibited by the twelve Tables.

⁶ Clodius had proposed, and carried a law, against putting to death Roman citizens untried. His second law appears to have applied this general principle to Cicero's particular case.

with this view, that if any thing is done in this business, you may not meddle with that law, which contains many popular enactments. But it is foolish in me to prescribe what you should do, or how. I only wish something may be done; on which subject your letter is rather reserved; lest, I suppose, I should feel my disappointment too severely. For what do you see possible to be done? or by what means? By the Senate? But you have told me yourself that Clodius had fixed upon the door post of the Senate house that clause in the law which makes it illegal to reconsider it, or to speak of it. How then is it, that Domitius has said he would move for its reconsideration? or how is it, that Clodius should have been silent, while some, as you mention, were speaking of that affair, and demanding its reconsideration? But if any thing is to be done by the people, can they act without the concurrence of all the Tribunes of the people? What of my goods? what of my house? Can that be restored? or if not, how am I myself restored? Unless you see some means of solving these difficulties, what is the hope to which you call me? And if there is no hope, what is life itself? I shall therefore wait at Thessalonica for an account of the transactions of the first of August, from which I may determine, whether I shall take refuge in your grounds (that I

may both avoid seeing people whom I do not like; and may, as you say, see you; and be nearer at hand in case any thing is done); and this I understand you and my brother Quintus to advise; or whether I shall go to Cyzicum. Now then, my Pomponius, since you have exerted no portion of your prudence for my safety; either because you supposed that I was sufficiently capable of judging for myself; or that you owed me nothing more, than merely to be ready on my behalf; and since I have been betrayed, prevailed upon, seduced to neglect all my supports; have disappointed and deserted all Italy, ready to rise in my defence; have given up my friends into the power of my enemies; while you looked on in silence, who, if your judgment was not better than mine, at least had less to fear; raise up, if you can, my afflicted friends, and in this yet assist me. But if all means are obstructed, let me be informed even of that: and cease at length either to chide me, or civilly to offer me consolation. If I meant to accuse your want of faithfulness, I should not trust myself in preference to your roof. No, I accuse my own folly, in supposing that your love for me was equal to my wishes. Had this been the case, you would have shewn the same fidelity, but greater care; and certainly would have held me back when I was hastening to my ruin;

nor would you have encountered those troubles which you now sustain in my shipwreck. Take care then to let me know every thing clearly and distinctly; and help me, as you do, to be again somebody; since I can no longer be what I was, and what I might have been. And believe that it is not you, but myself, that I accuse. If there are any; to whom you think letters should be sent in my name, I should be glad if you would write, and take care to have them delivered. Dated the 19th of August.

LETTER XVI.

ALL my motions are rendered uncertain, from nothing else but the expectation of your letter of the first of August. If it affords any hope, I shall go into Epirus; if not, to Cyzicum, or some other place. The oftener I read over your letters, the more my hopes decline; for the reading them weakens the hope they were meant to excite: so that it is very evident you are actuated by a regard both to my consolation and to truth. I therefore beg you distinctly to tell me what you know, as it really is; what you think, as you really think. Dated the 21st of August.

LETTER XVII.

THE accounts I had received about my brother Quintus had been unfavorable, and without variation, from the 4th of June to the 31st of August. On that day Livineius, the freedman of Regulus, came to me from his master: he reported that no mention of my brother's administration had been made; but that there had been some talk about the son of Caius Clodius.¹ He also brought me a letter from my brother. The next day Sestius's servant arrived with your letter, not so free from apprehension, as the verbal communication of Livineius. In truth I am very anxious in the midst of my own great distress, and the more so, because the question will come before Appius. The other matters which you mention in the same letter, relating to my hopes, seem to be less flattering than what I hear from other people. But, since the time is not far distant when the business must be determined, I shall either go to your house,² or shall still

¹ P. Clodius had two brothers, Caius and Appius. The former had died, leaving two sons; the latter is the same who is afterwards spoken of in this letter.

² The Latin is "ad te." Many instances might be produced to justify this translation. It is similar to what

remain in this neighbourhood. My brother tells me that you alone are the support of all his concerns. Why then should I exhort you to do, what you do already? or why should I return my thanks, which you do not desire? I only wish that fortune may enable us again to enjoy our mutual affection in security. I am always particularly anxious for your letters. You need be under no apprehension that your minuteness can be troublesome to me, or your candor disagreeable. Dated the 4th of September.

LETTER XVIII.

You had raised in me no little expectation, when you mentioned that Varro had told you in confidence, that Pompeius would certainly undertake my cause; and that as soon as he should have heard from Cæsar, which he was expecting, he would get somebody to propose it. Was there nothing in this? or has Cæsar's letter proved unfavorable? Is there any thing to be hoped? You mentioned also that he had said something would be done at the time of the Comitia.¹ Let me, if you see in what

occurs in the Acts, c. xvi. 40, *προς την Λυδιαν*, meaning "Lydia's house."

¹ See Letters XIII. and XIV. of this Book.

straits I am, and if you think it becomes your kindness, let me be informed of the whole matter. For my brother Quintus, an excellent man, who is so much attached to me, sends accounts full of hope, fearing, I suppose, my want of courage. But your letters are various; for you would not have me to despair, nor too hastily to hope. I entreat you to let me know every thing that you are able to discover.

LETTER XIX.

As long as I continued to receive from you such accounts, as gave me reason to expect any thing further, I was detained at Thessalonica by hope and anxiety : but when all the business of this year seemed to be finished, I did not care to go into Asia, both because company is disagreeable to me, and if any thing should be done by the new magistrates, I should be sorry to be out of the way. I have therefore determined to go to your place in Epirus ; not that the nature of the place was of any consequence to me, who altogether shun the light ; but I should go with peculiar pleasure from your port to my restoration ; or if that is cut off, I can no where more easily support this wretched life, or, what is far

better, throw it up. I shall have only a few people with me, and shall dismiss the great body of them. Your letters have never raised my hopes so much, as those of some other friends: yet have my hopes always been less even than your letters. Nevertheless, since a beginning has been made, however it has been done, or from whatever cause, I will not disappoint the sad and mournful requests of my excellent and only brother, nor the promises of Sestius¹ and others, nor the hope of that afflicted woman Terentia, nor the intreaties of the poor dear Tullia, and those of your faithful letters. Epirus will afford me either a passage to restoration, or what I have mentioned above.² I beg and beseech you, my Pomponius, as you see me spoiled of all my splendid, cherished, and enjoyable possessions, by the perfidy of certain people; as you see me betrayed and cast forth by my counsellors; and know that I am compelled to ruin myself, and all that belong to me; that you will assist me with your compassion, and support my brother Quintus, who may yet be saved; that you will protect Terentia and my children; that you will wait for me, if you think there is any chance of

¹ Sestius was a Tribune elect, and had promised to promote Cicero's recall.

² Alluding to his determination to kill himself. See Letter 1x. note 2.

seeing me there;³ otherwise, that you will come to visit me, if possible, and will assign me so much of your land, as my body can occupy;⁴ and that you will send me servants with letters as soon as possible, and as often as you can. Dated the 16th of September.

LETTER XX.

CICERO salutes Q. Cæcilius, the son of Quintus, Pomponianus Atticus.¹ That this should be so, and that your uncle should have discharged this duty to you, I exceedingly approve: I would say that I rejoiced at it, if I could use this word. Alas! how would every thing be according to my mind, had it not been for want of courage, of prudence, of honesty, in those whom I trusted; which I care not to recollect, lest I add to my regret. But I am sure you must remember the life I led; how many delights it contained, how much dig-

³ That Atticus should wait for Cicero at Rome, if he saw any chance of his recall; otherwise that he should go to see him in Epirus before he executed his resolution of killing himself.

⁴ For his burial.

¹ Atticus having been adopted by his uncle Q. Cæcilius, and made his heir, is addressed by this new designation conformable to the custom of his country.

nity. To recover this, I beseech you by your fortunes,² strive, as you do; and enable me to spend the birth-day of my return with you and with my relations in your delicious house. I wished to have staid at your place in Epirus for this hope and expectation, which is held out to me; but the letters I receive make me think it more convenient to remain where I am. Respecting my house, and Curio's speech, it is as you say. The general restoration, if only that be granted, will contain every thing. But there is nothing about which I am more anxious than my house. However, I mention nothing to you in particular; I commend myself wholly to your affection and fidelity. It is very gratifying to me, that in so great an inheritance³ you should have been able to extricate yourself from all trouble. When you promise your services on my behalf, that on every occasion I may derive assistance from you, rather than from any body else, I am very sensible how great a support this is; and I know that you undertake, and are able to sustain, many kind offices, for my preservation; and that you need not be intreated to do so. When you forbid me to suspect that I had either done, or

² A form of adjuration used particularly by persons in distress.

³ Corn. Nepos states the amount to be centies H-S. equivalent to £83,333.

neglected to do, any thing towards you, which could give you offence; I will comply with your request, and free myself from that source of uneasiness: nevertheless, I am indebted to you so much the more, in proportion to the excess of your kindness towards me, over mine towards you. I beg you to tell me what you see, what you hear, what is done; and to exhort all your friends to assist me. The proposed law of Sestius, is deficient both in dignity and caution: for it ought expressly to name me, and to mention more particularly my effects; and I should be glad if you would attend to this circumstance. Dated the 4th of October, at Thessalonica.

LETTER XXI.

THE day on which I write this, is the thirtieth since I have received any letter from you. It had been my intention, as I before mentioned to you, to go into Epirus, and there wait for whatever might happen. I beg you, if you see any thing either way, that you will distinctly inform me; and that you will write in my name, as you propose, any letters which you may think necessary. Dated the 28th of October.

LETTER XXII.

THOUGH my brother Quintus and Piso had acquainted me with the state of affairs; yet I wished that your engagements had not prevented you from writing, as usual, about what was doing, and what conclusions you drew from it. The hospitality of Plancius has hitherto retained me, when I have several times attempted to go into Epirus. He has entertained the hope, which I cannot say I have, that we might be able to go away together; which he expects may do him honor. But now that soldiers are said to be coming, it will be necessary for me to leave him. When I go, I will immediately write to inform you where I am. Lentulus by his kindness towards me, which his actions, his promises, and his letters declare, affords some hope of the good disposition of Pompeius. For you have often told me in your letters, that he was entirely under Pompeius's influence. My brother has written to me about Metellus, how much he hoped had been effected through you. My dear Pomponius, exert yourself that I may again be permitted to live with you and with my friends; and write to me every thing. I am oppressed

not only with grief, but with the want of all that was dearer to me than myself. Farewell.¹

As I knew if I went through Thessaly into Epirus I should be a long while without intelligence, and as I have friends at Dyrrachium, I have come to them, after writing the former part of my letter at Thessalonica. When I set out again for your place, I will let you know; and I trust you will send me an exact account of every thing, of whatever kind it may be. I now look for the thing itself, or lose all hope. Dated the 26th of November, at Dyrrachium.

LETTER XXIII.

ON the 27th of November I received three letters from you; one dated the 25th of October, in which you encourage me to wait with firmness for the month of January,¹ and say every thing that can lead to hope; such as the zeal of Lentulus, the good will of Metellus, and the whole design of Pompeius. In another letter, contrary to your custom, you do not mention the date; though you sufficiently mark the time by saying that you write on the

¹ This is the conclusion of the letter, to which what follows is a postscript: the letter having been written at Thessalonica, the postscript at Dyrrachium.

¹ When the new magistrates entered into office.

same day on which the law was promulgated by the eight Tribunes;² that is, the 29th of October; and you add what advantage you conceive that promulgation to have produced. From which, if my restoration is become desperate by the fate of this law, I should hope, for your love of me, you will esteem this fruitless diligence of³ mine rather unhappy, than absurd: but if there be indeed any hope, that you will use your endeavour to make the new magistrates hereafter exert themselves with greater diligence in my support. For that proposed law of the old Tribunes comprised three heads; one for my return, which was incautiously drawn up; for by it nothing is restored besides my citizenship, and my rank; which, considering my condition, is a great deal; but what ought to have been secured, and in what manner, cannot have escaped you.⁴ The next head is copied from the ordinary form of indemnity, in case any thing should be enacted in support of this law, which was contrary to other existing laws. As for the third head, observe, my Pomponius, with what design, and by whom it was inserted. For you

² Eight of the ten Tribunes proposed the repeal of Cicero's banishment, but it was necessary that they should all be unanimous.

³ He means the pains he was taking in this letter.

⁴ Alluding to his house and property.

know that Clodius added such sanctions to his law, as should put it almost, or altogether, out of the power either of the Senate, or of the people, to invalidate it. But you know also that the sanctions of laws which are abrogated, are never regarded. Were it otherwise, scarcely any could be abrogated: for there is none which is not fenced round by some obstacle to its repeal. But when a law is repealed, that very clause is repealed, which was meant for its security. Notwithstanding this is so, and has always been so held and observed, our eight Tribunes have inserted this clause: "If there
" be any thing contained in this law, which
" by any laws or decrees, that is, which by the
" Clodian law, it is not, and shall not be strictly
" lawful to promulgate, abrogate, diminish, or
" supersede; or which subjects to a penalty,
" or fine thereupon, whosoever hath promul-
" gated, abrogated, diminished, or superseded
" it; nothing of such kind is enacted by this
" law." And this could not affect those Tribunes; for they were not bound by the enactment of their own body: which affords the greater suspicion of some malice, that they should have inserted what was immaterial to themselves, but prejudicial to me; that the new Tribunes of the people, if they were at all timid, might think it still more necessary to use the same clause. Nor has that been over-

looked by Clodius: for he said in the assembly on the 3d of November, that under this head was prescribed to the Tribunes elect what was the extent of their authority. But you are aware that no law has any clause of this kind; which, if it were necessary, all would have, that go to abrogate a former law. I wish you could find out how this should have escaped Ninnius and the other Tribunes, and who introduced it; and how it happened that eight Tribunes of the people should not have hesitated to bring my cause before the Senate. Or can it be that⁵ they, who thought this clause might be disregarded, should at the same time be so cautious in abrogating it, as to be afraid of that, when they were free from the law, which need not be observed by those who were bound by the law? This clause I certainly should not wish the new Tribunes to propose: but let them enact what they will; the clause which recalls me, provided the thing be accomplished, will satisfy me. I am already ashamed of having written so much about it: for, I fear, by the time you read it, the thing will be past hope, so that my concern may appear to you pitiful, to others ridiculous. But if there

⁵ There is confessedly some error in the text. I propose to read "Sive sitne qui." The alteration of "qui" for "quod," is very little, and seems to me to make the sense of the whole passage clear and consistent.

is any thing to be hoped, look at the law which Visellius drew up for T. Fadius, which pleases me exceedingly: for I do not like that of our friend Sestius,⁶ which you say you approved. The third letter is dated on the 13th of November, in which you explain sensibly and accurately what it is that seems to delay my business; about Crassus, Pompeius, and the rest. I beg you therefore, if there is any hope that it can be accomplished by the wishes, the authority, the collected numbers of honest men, that a general push may be made; attend to this, and excite others. But if, as I too plainly see, both by your suspicions, and my own, that there is really no hope; I pray and beseech you to love my brother Quintus, whom I have wretchedly ruined; and not to suffer him to adopt any measures which may be inexpedient for your sister's son. As for my poor Cicero, to whom I leave nothing but ill will and disgrace, protect him as well as you can,⁷ and support by your kind attention Terentia, of all women the most afflicted. I shall go into Epirus as soon as I have received the intelligence of the first day's proceedings. I hope you will inform me in your next letter how the beginning passed off. Dated the 30th of November.

⁶ See Letter xx.

⁷ This seems to have been said under the idea of destroying himself.

LETTER XXIV.

WHEN you mentioned to me before, that the provinces of the Consuls had been appointed with your approbation ;¹ though I was afraid how this might turn out, yet I hoped your better judgment might have seen some reason for it. But since I have heard both by word of mouth, and by letter, that this proposal of yours is very much blamed, I have been deeply concerned ; in as much as that little hope, which remained, seems to be taken away. For if the Tribunes of the people are offended, what hope can there be ? And they may with reason be offended, when they, who had undertaken my cause, have been left out of consideration, and by our concession have lost the exercise of their just rights : especially when they declare that they wished for my sake to have the power of making out the appointments of the Consuls ; not that they might throw any impediment in the way, but that they might attach them to

¹ Atticus had no other concern in it, than as being one of Cicero's principal friends and agents at Rome. It seems that the appointment of the provinces was a check upon the conduct of the Consuls, which was exercised in great measure by the Tribunes. By having the appointment previous to their entering upon their office, the Tribunes lost this control, and the Consuls became independent.

my cause: but that now, if the Consuls are ill disposed towards me, they may shew it without constraint: or if they should be inclined to support me, still they can do nothing without the concurrence of the Tribunes. For as to what you say, that unless my friends had consented, they would have attained the same purpose through the people;² this could not be done against the sense of the Tribunes:³ so that I fear we may have lost the good will of the Tribunes; or if that still remains, that the bond of union with the Consuls may have been lost. Another no small disadvantage attached to this, is, that the solemn resolution, as it was represented to me, that the Senate would pass no act before my cause was determined, has been broken; and that, on an occasion, which was not only unnecessary, but quite unusual and novel. For I do not believe that the provinces were ever before appointed for the Consuls elect. Hence that firmness, which was shewn in my behalf, having been once infringed, there is nothing now which may not be decreed. It is not surprising that this should have pleased those friends to whom it was referred: for it would be difficult to find any body who would openly give an opinion in

² This had been done in the case of Cæsar.

³ Any one of the Tribunes might interpose to stop the progress of a law in the popular assembly.

opposition to such advantages of the two Consuls. It was impossible not to favor either so friendly a man as Lentulus, or Metellus who so kindly laid aside his resentment. But yet I fear whether we may be able to keep these, and may not have lost the Tribunes of the people. How this has turned out, and what is the state of the whole business, I wish you to inform me; and with your usual frankness. For the truth itself, though it may not be agreeable, is yet acceptable to me. Dated the 10th of December.

LETTER XXV.

SUBSEQUENT to your departure,¹ I have received letters from Rome, by which I perceive that I must pine away in this sad condition. For (you will pardon me) if any hope of my re-establishment had remained, such is your affection, that you would not have gone away at this time. But that I may not seem ungrateful, or willing that every thing should be sacri-

¹ From Rome. It is generally agreed by commentators that the words "a me" ought to be omitted. If they are retained, I should still understand it to mean "since you left my affairs at Rome." For the tenor of these letters forbids the supposition of Atticus's having been with Cicero.

feed along with me,² I say no more upon the subject. This I beg of you, that you will endeavour, as you promised, whatever be the condition of my affairs,³ to stop your progress before the first of January.

LETTER XXVI.

I HAVE received a letter from my brother Quintus with the decree of the Senate concerning me. It is my intention to wait for the passing of the law:¹ and if there is any malignant opposition, I will avail myself of the authority of the Senate, and will rather lose my life, than my country. Pray make haste to come to me.

² It is probable that Atticus might have written to say that some business called him away from Rome at this time; to which Cicero replies, that he would not be thought to wish that Atticus should sacrifice every thing for his sake.

³ So I understand the text "*ubicunque erimus;*" which is the same as if he had said "*quocunque in loco erimus,*" that is, "in whatever condition I may be."

¹ The decrees of the Senate had not the force of a law till they were confirmed by the people. But the law of Cicero's banishment having been carried by illegal means, the Senate had on this occasion passed a vote, "that if through any violence, or obstruction, the law for his recall was not suffered to pass, within the five next legal days of assembly, Cicero should be at liberty to return, without any further authority." *Mid. 4to. vol. i. p. 394.*

LETTER XXVII.

I SEE by your letters, and by the case itself, that I am utterly lost. I beg that in any concerns, in which my family may stand in need of your assistance, you will have compassion upon my wretchedness. I hope, as you say, that I shall shortly see you.

[The law for Cicero's recall was for some time obstructed by the Tribune Serranus, who had been gained over by Clodius. At length however it passed on the 4th of August, Cicero having already embarked for Italy, and arrived at Brundisium, where three days afterwards he received intelligence of the law having been ratified with great zeal and unanimity by all the centuries.]

BOOK IV.

LETTER I.

As soon as I came to Rome, and met with any body to whom I could properly entrust a letter to you, I thought nothing deserved my earlier attention, than sending to congratulate with you upon my return. For I had found, to tell you the truth, that in giving me advice, you were as much in want of fortitude and prudence, as myself;¹ and considering my former attachment to you, that you had not been over diligent in protecting my safety. Yet you, who had at first partaken of my error, or rather madness, and had been the companion of my false alarm, bare our separation with much uneasiness, and spared no pains, no exertion, diligence, or trouble, to bring about my restoration. And I may truly affirm, that amidst the greatest joy, and most wished-for congr-

¹ The explanation of this and the following sentences is found in the 15th Letter of the 3d Book.

tulations, the only thing wanting to complete my satisfaction, is to see, or rather to embrace you; whom once possessed, I hope never again to leave. If I do not make amends also for all the neglected fruits of your kindness² in the time that is gone by, I shall verily think myself undeserving of this return of fortune.

I have already obtained, what I conceived most difficult to be recovered in my situation, that distinction in the forum, that authority in the Senate, and favor among good men, in a greater degree than I could have hoped. But in regard to my property, which, as you know, has been violated, dissipated, and plundered, I am in great difficulty; and I stand in need, not so much of your money, which I look upon as my own, but of your advice, in gathering up and securing the remains of it. Now, though I imagine that every thing has been either related to you by your friends, or brought by messengers and common report; yet I will shortly describe what I think you will most wish to be informed of by my own letters. I left Dyrrachium the 4th of August, on the very day when the law passed for my recall. On the 5th I came to Brundisium, where my dear Tullia was ready to receive me on her

² This likewise derives explanation from Book III. Letter xv. where Cicero declares that his future attentions to Atticus shall make up for any past deficiencies.

birth-day, which happened also to be the anniversary of the foundation of the Brundisian colony, and of the temple of public safety in your neighbourhood. This was noticed by the populace, and celebrated with great rejoicing. On the 8th of August, while I was at Brundisium, I heard from my brother Quintus, that the law had been confirmed in the assembly of centuries,³ with an astonishing zeal among all ranks and ages, and an incredible concurrence of all Italy. Thence, having been honored by the principal people of Brundisium, as I pursued my journey I was met by messengers of congratulation from all parts. On approaching the city there was nobody of any order of citizens known to my nomenclator,⁴ who did not come to meet me, excepting those enemies, who could not either dissemble, or deny their hostility. When I arrived at the Capenan gate,⁵ the steps of the temples were filled with the lower classes of people, who signified their congratulations with the loudest applause; and a similar throng and applause attended me quite to the capitol: and in the forum, and in

³ The most dignified assembly of the people was that in which the votes were collected by centuries, or classes.

⁴ An attendant, whose duty it was to mention the names of every body that passed. Such people were particularly employed by persons engaged in a public canvass.

⁵ One of the gates of Rome.

the capitol itself, the numbers were prodigious. The day following, which was the 5th of September, I returned thanks to the Senate. These two days the price of provisions being very high, the people collected tumultuously, by the instigation of Clodius, first at the theatre, then at the Senate, crying out that I had occasioned the dearth of corn. At the same time, the Senate having met upon the subject of the supplies, and Pompeius being called upon by the voice not only of the populace, but of the better sort, to provide for it, and being himself desirous of it, and the people calling upon me by name to propose a decree for that purpose, I did so, and explained fully my sentiments, in the absence of others of consular rank, who said they could not with safety declare their opinions, excepting Messalla and Afranius. A decree of the Senate was accordingly passed agreeably to my proposal, that Pompeius should be engaged to undertake the business, and that a law should be brought in. Upon the recital of this decree, when the populace, according to this silly and new custom, had given their applause, repeating my name, I harangued the assembly by the permission of all the magistrates present, excepting one Prætor and two Tribunes of the people. The next day there was a full Senate, and all the consular senators granted whatever Pompeius

asked for. Upon his demanding fifteen lieutenants, he named me at the head of them, and said that I should be in every thing another self. The Consuls drew up a law, giving to Pompeius the power of regulating the corn all over the world for five years. Messius drew up another, giving him an unlimited command of money, superadding a fleet and army, and a greater authority in the provinces, than was possessed by the governors themselves. That consular law now appears quite modest; this of Messius intolerable. Pompeius says he prefers the former; his friends are for the latter. The consular senators, headed by Favonius, exclaim against it; I say nothing; more especially because the Pontifices have yet given no opinion respecting my house.⁶ If they remove the religious impediments, I shall have a noble area, and, agreeably to the resolution of the Senate, the Consuls will estimate the value of the buildings: if it is

⁶ Clodius, when he destroyed Cicero's house in Rome, consecrated part of the area on which it stood, and erected a temple there to the goddess Liberty. The remaining part Clodius had planted, and appropriated to his own use. Hence it is that Cicero goes on to say, if the consecration of the area be set aside, he shall have a noble space for a new house; or if it should not be set aside, that the Consuls were at least to clear the ground, and contract for the building of a house for him on the unconsecrated part.

otherwise, they will pull down what is now there, will contract for a house in their own names, and will make an estimate of the whole amount. Such is the situation of my affairs; hazardous for a state of prosperity; for a state of adversity, good. In my income, as you know, I am much embarrassed; and have besides some domestic troubles, which I do not care to commit to writing. I have all that affection, which I ought to have, towards my brother Quintus, endowed as he is with distinguished loyalty, virtue, and fidelity. I am looking for you, and beg you to hasten your coming; and to come in such a disposition of mind, as not to suffer me to remain in want of your counsel. I am entering upon the beginning of another life. Already some, who defended me in my absence, begin to be secretly angry with me upon my return, and openly to envy me. I greatly want you.

LETTER II.

IF it happens that you hear from me less frequently than from some others, I beg you will not attribute it to my neglect, nor even to my occupations; which, great as they are, yet can never interrupt the course of my affection and duty. But since I came to Rome, it is now

only the second time that I have known of any body to whom I could entrust a letter : consequently this is the second I have sent. In the former I described to you the manner of my return, and what was my situation, and the condition of all my affairs, hazardous for a state of prosperity, for a state of adversity good enough. After the date of that letter, there followed a great contest about my house. I spake before the Pontificcs the last day of September. The cause was diligently debated by me ; so that if ever I made a figure in speaking, or if ever else, then at least the sense of my injuries, and the importance of the issue, added new force to my language. I could not therefore withhold the speech from our young friends ; and, though you do not ask for it, yet I shall shortly send it to you. The sentence of the Pontifices was to this effect—“ if he who “ said he had made a dedication, had not been “ specially appointed to that purpose by any “ order of the people, either in their centuries, “ or tribes ; then that part of the area appeared “ capable of being restored to me without any “ religious impediment.” Upon this I was immediately congratulated : for nobody doubted but the house was adjudged to me. But presently that fellow mounts the rostra, by permission of Appius, and tells the people that the Pontifices had given sentence in his favor ; but

that I was attempting to get possession by force; and he exhorts them to support him and Appius, and to defend their own liberties. Upon this, while even among that lowest rabble some wondered, some smiled at the fellow's madness, I had determined not to come forward till the Consuls, by the decree of the Senate, should first have contracted for the rebuilding of Catulus's portico.¹ On the first of October was held a full Senate, at which all those Pontifices, who were senators, were present. Marcellinus, who was much attached to me, being first called upon to speak, enquired of them what they had intended by their sentence. Upon which M. Lucullus, in the name of all his colleagues, replied, that the Pontifices were the judges of religion, the Senate of the law: that he and his colleagues had given their opinion upon the point of religion; that they would speak of the law in the Senate. Each of them then being asked his opinion in turn, argued at length in my favour. When it came to Clodius to speak, he wished to wear out the day;² nor was there any end to it, till after having spoken for nearly three hours, he was at

¹ This adjoined to the area of Cicero's house, and had partly been destroyed to make way for Clodius's temple of Liberty.

² This was sometimes practised for the purpose of impeding the progress of any decree of the Senate.

length compelled, by the disapprobation and clamour of the Senate, to bring his discourse to a conclusion. A decree of the Senate being then made agreeably to the proposal of Marellinus, with only one dissentient voice, Serranus interceded.³ Immediately both Consuls referred it to the Senate, to take this intercession into consideration; and the most dignified opinions were pronounced, that it was the pleasure of the Senate that my house should be restored to me; that Catulus's portico should be rebuilt; that the resolution of the Senate⁴ should be supported by all the magistrates; that if any violence was offered, the Senate would consider it to have been done by his means who had interposed his negative. Serranus took fright, and Cornicinus had recourse to his old farce; and having cast off his upper garment, he threw himself at the feet of his son-in-law.⁵ He asked to have the night to consider of it, which they were not disposed to grant; for they had not forgotten the first of January.⁶ With some difficulty however this

³ Any one of the Tribunes of the people had the power of stopping the decrees of the Senate, which was called interceding.

⁴ The acts of the Senate, when they were not suffered to pass on to a decree, were called auctoritates.

⁵ Cornicinus was father-in-law to Serranus.

⁶ It was on the first of January, upon occasion of the debate on Cicero's recall, that Serranus and Cornicinus had

was acceded to by my consent. The next day the decree of the Senate was made, which I sent you. Then the Consuls contracted for the restoring of Catulus's portico. What Clodius had done was immediately demolished by the contractors, with universal approbation. The Consuls, by the opinion of their council,⁷ valued what had been erected upon the ground at 2000 Sestertia (£16,000.);⁸ the other things very illiberally. My Tusculanum at 500 Sestertia (£4000.) The Formianum at 250 Sestertia (£2000.) This valuation was very much censured; not only by all the best people, but even by the common sort. You will naturally ask then, what was the cause of it. They say it was my modesty, in neither objecting, nor strenuously urging my claims. But that is not the case: for this might indeed have been of advantage to me; but these same people, my Titus Pomponius, I say these very people, whom you know well enough, who have clipped my wings, are unwilling to let them grow again: but I hope they are already growing. Do you only come to me, which I am afraid of your not

done the same thing before; but at that time Serranus persisted in his opposition.

⁷ It appears that the magistrates were accustomed to have the opinion of a council in conducting business of importance that was entrusted to them.

⁸ Cicero had paid for it £29,000.

doing till late, owing to the arrival of your and my friend Varro. Having put you in possession of what has been done, let me inform you of my further designs. I have engaged myself to Pompeius in such a manner, as in no degree to be prevented from being at liberty, if I should wish it, either to offer myself for the Censorship, should the next Consuls hold the Comitia for that purpose; or to take a votive legation⁹ of almost all the shrines and groves: for so my affairs required.¹⁰ And I wished to have it in my power either to canvass, or at the beginning of the summer to go from Rome: and in the mean time I thought it desirable to keep in the sight of the citizens who had shewn me such great kindness. These are my views with regard to the public: but my domestic concerns are greatly embroiled. The building of my house at Rome is going on. You know with what expence, and what trouble, I am restoring my Forinianum, which I am neither able to relinquish, nor to see. My Tusculanum I have

⁹ The senators not being permitted by law to absent themselves from Rome without leave, used the subterfuge of an honorary lieutenantancy, or expiation of a vow, to set themselves at liberty. See Book II. Letter XVIII.

¹⁰ The disorder into which his affairs had been thrown in different parts of Italy, made it, I suppose, either a real, or a pretended reason, for having these votive legations in so many places.

advertised for sale. I cannot easily do without a villa near the city. The kindness of my friends has been exhausted in that business, which has produced nothing but disgrace; which you perceived at a distance, I in fact.¹¹ By their favor and assistance I should easily have obtained every thing, if my own defenders had permitted it. But I have now great trouble from this source. The other things which vex me are of a more secret nature.¹² I enjoy the affection of my brother, and of my daughter. I am expecting you.

¹¹ The text is obscure, and perhaps faulty. I suppose the word *nos* to be omitted before *præsentes*, and have given such an interpretation, as appeared to me most suitable. The business to which he alludes was probably that of quitting the city, which he elsewhere repeatedly regrets: Here he seems to imply that he could not reasonably ask any pecuniary assistance from his friends, who had assisted him so liberally in his banishment; and who would have enabled him to resist and overcome his persecutors, had it not been for his imprudent advisers. Though Atticus was not with him in his disgrace, yet he knew well what Cicero suffered.

¹² Probably alluding to the ill humour of Terentia, which occasioned increasing vexation, and drove him at last to a divorce.

LETTER III.

I KNOW you will be glad to be informed of what is doing here; and in what concerns me, to hear it from myself; not that such matters, which are done in the face of the world, can be more certain from my pen, than from any body else, who may write to you, or tell you about them; but that you may perceive from my style how I am affected by them, and what is the present feeling of my mind, and condition of my life. On the third of November the workmen were violently driven from my ground by armed men; the portico of Catulus, which was rebuilding by contract entered into by the Consuls, agreeably to the decree of the Senate, and which had already reached the roof, was thrown down. My brother Quintus's house was first injured by stones thrown from my area, then set on fire by order of Clodius, in sight of the whole city, with lighted materials, to the great grief and lamentation, I say not of all good people, for I know not if there are any, but fairly of all people. He rushed on impetuously; and, after this outrage seemed to think of nothing but the slaughter of his enemies; went round from street to

street ; and openly invited the slaves to revolt.¹ Before, when he avoided² a trial, he had indeed a difficult case, and strong evidence against him ; but yet he had a case ; he might deny the fact ; he might lay it upon others ; he might even defend some of the charges as warranted by law. After this ruin, fire, plunder, he is deserted by his friends, and scarcely retains Decimus the marshal, or Gellius : he uses the counsel of slaves ; he sees that if he should kill all whom he wished, his cause upon trial could not be worse than it is already. Therefore as I was going down the Sacred Street on the 3d of November, he pursued me with his mob : shouts, stones, sticks, swords, all unforeseen. I retreated into the vestibule of Tertius Dammion : they who were with me easily prevented these rioters from entering. He might himself have been killed. But I begin to use³ dieting ; I am tired of manual operations. When he saw that he was driven by the general voice not to trial, but to punishment, he afterwards

¹ The servants of the ancient Romans were all slaves, of which they kept a prodigious number.

² On this occasion he had been accused by Milo for the violences committed while he was Tribune. The Consul Metellus contrived to prevent the prosecution.

³ Perhaps it ought to be written “*Diæta curare incipio.*” As it stands, the sense is, that “ I begin to have my affairs “ protected by gentle methods.” In the other case it would mean, that “ I begin to treat Clodius by gentle “ methods.”

imitated all the Catilines and Aeidini. For on the 12th of November he was so determined to destroy and burn Milo's house on Mount Germalus, that openly at eleven o'clock in the morning he brought men with shields and drawn swords, and others with lighted torches. He had taken possession of the house of P. Sulla, as his camp, to conduct the siege. At that time Q. Flaccus brought out from Milo's Annian house⁴ some determined men, killed the most notorious of the Clodian mob, and wished to kill him, but he took refuge in the inner part of the building. On the 14th Sulla came to the Senate, Clodius staid at home, Marellinus was admirable, every body was exasperated. Metellus wasted the time of speaking by eaviling, in which he was assisted by Oppius,⁵ and even by your friend,⁶ of whose firmness and excellenee your letters have spoken so truly.⁷ Sestius was outrageous; Clodius, if his election⁸ were not suffered to take place, threatened

⁴ Many of the opulent citizens had more than one house at Rome; frequently by adoption, or bequest.

⁵ Manutius has not without reason conjectured that it ought to be written Appius, who was Clodius's brother, and was Prætor, and was in the Senate.

⁶ It is generally supposed that Cicero here means Hortensius.

⁷ This is said ironically, Cicero having had some reason to suspect that Hortensius acted towards him ungenerously.

⁸ He was at this time candidate for the office of Ædile.

the city. Upon the proposal of Marcellinus's motion, which he delivered from a written paper, so as to include the whole of my case, the area, the burning, my personal danger, and made them all to precede the Comitia;⁹ one declared¹⁰ that he would observe the

His election would prevent all judicial proceedings against him till the expiration of his year.

⁹ The Comitia for the election of *Ædiles*.

¹⁰ *Proscripsit*. It has been doubted what was the nominative to this verb. I believe it to be used indefinitely, and without a nominative. That this is sometimes done by ancient authors, has been observed by Bentley on the construction of the word "inquit." Hor. 1 Serm. iv. 78. Bishop Pearce has extended this observation to some other words in his note upon 1 Cor. vi. 16. Many other examples of the same kind might be produced both in sacred and profane writings. Of the former I would instance the word *αποκαλυπτεται*, 1 Cor. iii. 13; which has given some trouble to commentators, and among the rest to Pearce himself. I apprehend it to be used absolutely, or indefinitely, and without any nominative—"it is revealed," or "revelation is made." It is used in the same manner again, c. xiv. 30. So 2 Cor. iii. 16, *ἡνικα δ' αν επισρεψη*—"whenever any one turn." 1 Cor. xiv. 5 and 13, *διερμηνευη*—"one interpret," or "it be interpreted." So Luke, xvi. 9, *δεξωνται υμας*—"that you may be received." Among profane authors we find the same construction; as, *ενδεχεται*; Arr. Epict. i. 22. "Does any one admit?" *τον φοβον οριζονται προσδοκιαν κακην*. Aristot. Eth. iii. 6—"People define." And in Latin, *Ordinis hæc virtus erit et venus, aut ego fallor, Ut jam nunc dicat, &c.*—"that one should say." Hor. A. P. 42. So again, v. 252, *Trimetris accrescere*

heavens¹¹ on all the Comititia days. Then followed factious speeches from Metellus, rash ones from Appius, furious ones from Publius. This however is the sum ; unless Milo had declared his observation of the heavens in the Campus Martius, the Comititia would have taken place. On the 20th of November Milo came into the Campus Martius in the middle of the night with a great attendance. Clodius, though he had a chosen band of runaway slaves, dared not come into the field. Milo remained till noon, with great honor, and to the great joy of the people. The struggle of the three brothers¹² was disgraceful, their strength broken, their fury contemptible. Metellus challenges a prohibition in the forum the next day ; that there was no occasion to come into the Campus Martius by night ; that he should be in the forum at seven in the morning. Therefore on the 21st Milo came before sun-rise into the forum. Metellus at the first dawn was hastening secretly to the Campus Martius through by-ways ; Milo comes up to him between the

jussit Nomen Iambæis—" it was ordained." And similar to these is " putant" (Cic. N. D. ii. 16)—" it is supposed."

¹¹ The magistrates only were allowed to observe the heavens for the purpose of divination, and when they did so, no Comititia could be held.

¹² Clodius, Appius, and Metellus : the latter was not properly a brother, but a cousin. This use of the Latin word " frater" has before been taken notice of.

groves;¹³ forbids the Comitia: he withdrew under the severe and opprobrious scoffs of Q. Flaccus. The 22nd was market day.¹⁴ On that day, and the day following, there was no meeting. It is on the 24th that I am writing, at three o'clock in the morning: Milo is already in possession of the Campus Martius. Metellus the candidate¹⁵ is snoring, so that I might hear him. Clodius's vestibule I am told is deserted, there being but a few ragged fellows, without even a lantern. Their party complained that it was all my doing, little knowing the spirit and the ability of that hero.¹⁶ His courage is admirable. I send you rare news. But this is the sum of the whole: I do not think the Comitia will be held; and I do think that Publius, if he is not first killed, will be brought to trial by Milo. If he come in his way, I foresee that he will be killed by Milo: he does not hesitate to do it; he openly professes it; my fate¹⁷ does not intimidate him: for he has had

¹³ A part of the city so called, where it is to be supposed there were, or had been, groves of trees.

¹⁴ The Nundinæ, which were held every ninth day, and were holidays, when the Comitia could not be held.

¹⁵ Candidate for the office of Ædile with Clodius. What is here said of him may probably allude partly to his being prone to sleep, and partly to his giving up all idea of the Comitia been held that day.

¹⁶ Milo.

¹⁷ The charge against Cicero when he was banished, was, that he had put Roman citizens to death without a trial.

no envious and faithless counsellor, nor does he mean to trust to any inactive great man. My mind alone is in full vigour, even more so than when I was in power; in my property I am wasted: yet I contrive to repay the liberality of my brother Quintus, against his will, from the resources of my friends, rather than my own, lest I should be quite exhausted. In your absence I am at a loss what measures to take respecting the general state of my affairs; therefore hasten up.

LETTER IV.

ON the 30th of January, before it was light, Cincius made himself most agreeable to me by informing me that you were in Italy, and that he was going to send a servant to you, whom I would not suffer to go without a letter from me; not that I have any thing particular to tell you, especially being now so near; but that I might assure you that your arrival is most grateful to me, and what I have been most anxiously expecting. Therefore fly up, in order to gratify your own affection, and to feel the effects of mine. We will settle other matters when we meet. I write this in haste. As soon as you arrive, come with your attendants to my house: I shall be delighted to receive you.

You will find a noble arrangement of Tyrannio for the library of my books; the remains of which are much better than I had supposed. I should be glad also if you would send me two of your library clerks, whom Tyrannio may employ in repairing my books, and other offices; and that you would direct them to bring some parchment to make indexes, which I think you Greeks call syllabus's. But this according to your convenience. But do you at all events come, if you can stay in this part of the country,¹ and can bring Pilia:² for this is reasonable, and Tullia wishes it. In good truth you have bought a splendid situation. I understand your gladiators fight admirably. If you had chosen to contract for them, you might have saved yourself these two charges.³ But of these things hereafter. Only mind to come; and, if you have any regard for me, remember about the librarians.

¹ At Antium.

² Pilia was betrothed to Atticus, but not yet married; unless we suppose with M. Mongault that this letter should be divided into two; the first written from Rome; the other from Antium, after Atticus's marriage.

³ Purchasing gladiators, and purchasing a place for them to exhibit: so I understand this passage, which is not very clear. These gladiators are supposed to have been in honor of Cæcilius. See Book III. Letter xx.

LETTER V.

WHAT say you? Do you suppose that I should wish my compositions to be read and approved by any body, rather than by you? Why then have I sent them first to any body else? I was pressed by him¹ to whom I sent them, and had no other copy. What? Besides (for I have some time been nibbling at what must be swallowed at last) a recantation of my sentiments seemed to be rather disreputable. But farewell to upright, and true, and honorable counsels! It is not to be believed what perfidy there is in those chiefs,² as they wish to be; and as they would be, if they had any honesty. I have understood and known them, having been invited, deserted, east off by them: yet it had been my intention to co-operate with them in the Republic. They are the same that they were: I have at length by your instruction grown wiser. You will say, that you advised, and persuaded me what to do; but not to write also. But I chose to lay

¹ This seems to have been Cæsar, to whom Cicero had sent a complimentary poem.

² He probably means those, who while they professed to support the Republic, were actuated by jealousy towards Cicero, as he frequently insinuates in other letters.

myself under an obligation to maintain this new connexion ; and to prevent my relapsing to those, who when they ought to pity, do not cease to envy me. However I have, as I wrote you word, been very temperate in my subject. I shall become more exuberant, if both he receives it kindly, and these people shew their vexation ; who ill endure that I should possess a villa which had belonged to Catulus, and do not consider that I bought it of Tettius ;³ who say that it did not become me to build a house ; that I ought rather to sell one. But what more ? If in the public expression of my sentiments I have spoken any thing which they might approve ; yet their joy is, that I should have spoken contrary to the wish of Pompeius. But there is now an end of this : and since those, who have no power, do not choose to behave kindly to me, let me try to be kindly received by those who have. You will say, “ I “ wished it long ago.” I know that you wished it ; and that I was a very ass. But it is now time that I should have regard to myself, since I can by no means have the regard of these people. I am much obliged to you for your frequent visits to my house. Crassipes⁴ runs

³ There were several of this name ; all of them people of obscurity, and thereby forming a contrast to the family of Catulus.

⁴ Tullia becoming a widow by the death of her husband

away with my means. You may come from the direct road into the grounds: this seems more convenient. You will return home the next day: for what does it signify to you? But I will see about it.⁵ Your people have highly decorated my library by their arrangement and coverings. I should be glad if you would commend them for it.

LETTER VI.

RESPECTING Lentulus, I bear it as I ought. We have lost a good, and a great man, and one who tempered a noble spirit with much kindness. It is some consolation, though a poor one, that I by no means lament his fate like Saufeius, and the rest of your sect.¹ For

L. Piso, was lately married to Crassipes, to whom Cicero had to pay her dower.

⁵ These expressions are attended with that obscurity which must always be found in familiar letters, from their relation to circumstances that are unknown to the reader. It seems to me most probable that they may refer to some letter of Atticus's inviting Cicero to come to him at Rome. For that Atticus was at Rome, appears from his frequent visits to Cicero's house, while it was rebuilding: and that Cicero was himself at Antium, may be concluded from the mention of his library, which is known to have been at his villa near that place.

¹ Of the sect of the Epicureans, who placed all their

he so loved his country, that indeed I may consider him to have been snatched from its ruin by some favor of the gods. For what can be more disgraceful than our life? mine especially? As for you, though you have all the endowments of a statesman, you have addicted yourself to no party, but feel a common interest in all: while I, if I speak of the Republic as I ought, am thought mad; if, as I am obliged to do, a slave; if I say nothing, oppressed and fettered. How much cause then have I for grief? which is also aggravated by this circumstance, that I cannot even express it for fear of appearing ungrateful. What if I should retire, and shelter myself in some port of rest? It is in vain. Rather let me rush into war, and take the field. Shall I then submit to be a follower, who have refused to be a leader? So it must be; for so I see it pleases you, whom I wish I had always minded. What remains is (according to the proverb) "Sparta is your lot, make the best of it." In good truth I cannot; and I approve the conduct of Philoxenus, who chose rather to be conducted back to prison.² But I study in this place to

happiness in present enjoyment. (See Book I. Letter VIII. note 3.)

² Rather than commend the verses of Dionysius the Tyrant.

discard these sentiments ;³ and you, when we meet, shall confirm my purpose. I perceive that you sent me several letters, which I received all at the same time ; and this even added to my sorrow : for by accident I first read three, in which it was stated that Lentulus was rather better ; then came this thunder-stroke in the fourth. But, as I said, it is not he that is to be pitied ; but we, who are slaves. Respecting the Hortensiana,⁴ which you advise me to write ; I am engaged in other subjects, yet am not unmindful of your injunction. But in truth at the very outset I relinquished it, that I might not appear foolishly to have been offended with the unkindness of a friend ; then again foolishly to proclaim it by writing. I was at the same time apprehensive lest the depth of my abasement, which has appeared in my actions, might become still more conspicuous if I should write any thing ; and that offering satisfaction might seem to partake of levity : but I will consider of it. Do you only let me hear something from you as often as

³ The sense of this passage appears to me to have been misapprehended, by not adverting to the force of the word *ista*, which I conceive to mean " such sentiments as he had hitherto held."

⁴ The Hortensiana seems to have been some work either to be dedicated to Hortensius, or complimentary and conciliatory towards him.

possible. Desire Luceius to shew you the letter which I have just sent him, in which I ask him to write the account of my transactions: I hope you will be pleased with it. Encourage him to set about the work; and thank him for having agreed to undertake it. Look after my house⁵ as far as you can. Say something proper to Vestorius, who is very liberal towards me.

LETTER VII.

NOTHING could be more seasonable than your letter, which relieved my mind from great uneasiness, on account of our dear boy Quintus.¹ Charippus had come hither two hours before, and had quite frightened me. As to what you say of Apollonius; what evil spirit has possessed him, a fellow from Greece, to suppose he might throw his affairs into disorder, like the Roman knights? for Terentius might plead his right.² With respect to Metellus, peace to

⁵ Which was rebuilding at Rome. See Letter III. of this Book.

¹ The son of Q. Cicero; the same whom he afterwards calls the young Cicero.

² Terentius was a Roman knight. It is probable that Atticus may have had some money dealings with him, and with Apollonius, and that they were both defaulters.

the dead ; but however for many years there has not died a citizen, who ——. I will be answerable for your money. For what need you fear, whomsoever he has made his heir ? unless it is Publius. But he has not done improperly, although he was himself ——. ³ Therefore on his account you will not have occasion to open your coffers. In what concerns the others, ⁴ you must be more cautious. You will have the goodness to attend to my requests about my house : ⁵ you will set a guard : you will warn Milo. The people of Arpinum are clamorous on the subject of Laterium ? ⁶ What say you ? I for my part am sorry. But (as Homer sings) “ he disregards their words.” It only remains to beg that you will continue to nurse, and to love, the young Cicero, as you do.

³ These breaks are evidently indicative of some reproachful expressions, of which Cicero checked the utterance out of respect to the dead.

⁴ This refers to Apollonius and Terentius.

⁵ Cicero had likewise in a former letter begged his friend to look after it. Indeed it seems to have been necessary ; not only for the sake of encouraging and directing the workmen, but also to protect it from the violence of Clodius. See Letter III. of this Book.

⁶ Laterium was a possession of Q. Cicero in the neighbourhood of Arpinum. By some alterations he seems to have given offence to the people there.

LETTER VIII.

MANY passages in your letter delighted me, and nothing more than your “dish of potted cheese.”¹ As to what you say about my debts being reduced “to a brass farthing,” I reply by the proverb, “call nobody great before you see his end.”² I find nothing for you ready built in the country: there is something in the town;³ but it is uncertain whether it is to be sold. This is close to my house. Be assured that Antium is the Buthrotum⁴ of Rome, as that of yours is of Corcyra. Nothing can be quieter, nothing more retired, nothing pleasanter. “Our very home (as they say)

¹ Several parts of this letter refer to some expressions previously addressed to Cicero by Atticus. Cicero having been living in retirement, seems to have given occasion to Atticus to banter him on his spare living, from which he concludes that he must have reduced his debts to a mere trifle. The word *tyrotarichum* is met with again, Book XIV. Letter XVI. *Raudusculum* occurs, Book VI. Letter VII. and Book VII. Letter II. and Book XIV. Letter XIV.

² Cicero replies by a Greek proverb, the meaning of which is, that he must not presume upon the extinction of his embarrassments before it took place.

³ The town of Antium, from whence Cicero writes.

⁴ The place of Atticus's residence in Epirus, opposite to Corcyra.

“ may be considered odious in comparison.” But since Tyrannio has arranged my books, a new spirit seems to animate my house : and in accomplishing this, Dionysius and your Menophilus have been of wonderful assistance. Nothing can be more elegant than your shelves, now that the books are so highly distinguished by their covers. I should be glad to hear from you of the success of the gladiators ;⁵ but it is on the presumption that they conducted themselves well ; if otherwise, I do not ask about them.⁶

Apenas was scarcely gone, when your letter arrived. What say you ? Do you think he will not propose⁷ the law ? Speak louder, I beseech you ; for I seem scarcely to have heard it. But let me know presently, if it is not troublesome to you. As a day has been added to the holidays, I can the better spend that day here with Dionysius. I am quite of your mind about Trebonius. With respect to Domitius,⁸ “ no fig, as they say, was ever so “ like another,” as his situation is to mine ;

⁵ See Letter iv. of this Book.

⁶ This seems to have been the conclusion of a letter dispatched by a slave of the name of Apenas. The rest should be considered either as a separate letter ; or a postscript written after recalling his messenger.

⁷ It is uncertain to what law this alludes.

⁸ L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

either because it happens through the same people, or because it is beyond all expectation, or because there are no honest men left. In one respect it is unlike; that he deserves it. But with respect to the misfortune itself, I do not know if mine were not the lesser: for what can be worse than this, that he who has been all his life looked upon as Consul elect,⁹ should at last be unable to obtain the consulate? especially when he stood alone, or at most had only one competitor. But if it be, which I do not pretend to know, that he¹⁰ has in the memorandums of his calendar as long a list of Consuls to come, as of those already made, what can be more wretched than he? unless it be the Republic, in which there is no hope even of any amendment. The first intelligence I had of Natta was from your letter. You ask about my poem. What if it should endeavour to make its escape?¹¹ Would you consent? With regard to Fabius Luscus, which I had been going to mention, he was always very friendly to me, nor had I ever born him any ill will; for he was a sensible, modest,

⁹ He was of a noble family, and had obtained all the previous offices in the State as soon as he was of an age to hold them; but was kept from the consulship by means of Pompeius and Crassus, at the instigation of Cæsar, whom he had foolishly provoked.

¹⁰ I suspect the person here un-named to have been Cæsar.

¹¹ What if I should think of publishing it?

well behaved man. As I did not happen to see him, I supposed he had been absent; till I heard from this Gavius of Firmum, that he was in Rome, and had been there all along. Can such a trifling cause, you will say, have offended him? He had given me much information about the Firmian brothers. What may be the reason of his anger against me, if he is angry, I am quite ignorant. Respecting the advice you give me, to conduct myself like a good politician, and to avoid all extremes; I shall do so. But I stand in need of greater prudence; for which I shall apply to you, as I use to do. I wish, if you have any access to Fabius, that you would endeavour to get some information from him: and that you would sound that guest of yours;¹² and send me daily accounts of these, and all other matters. When you have nothing to tell me, tell me even that. Farewell.

LETTER IX.

(GRÆV. X.)

It is strongly reported at Puteoli that Ptolemæus is restored to his kingdom.¹ If you have

¹² Supposed to mean Saufeius.

¹ Ptolemæus was restored by Gabinius, who was governor of Syria, but was not authorised to re-establish Ptolemæus in Egypt.

any certain information, I should be glad to know it. I am here feeding on Faustus's library. You might suppose perhaps that it was on the exquisite productions of Puteoli and Lucrinum. There is no want of these; but, to say the truth, in the present state of the Republic, I have lost my relish for other enjoyments and pleasures; and find support and refreshment from books alone: and would rather occupy that little seat of yours under the statue of Aristotle,² than the curule chair of these people; and rather walk with you at your house, than with him,³ with whom I see I must walk. But about this walk chance must determine, unless there be some god who has a regard to us. With respect to my gallery, and my stove, and all that Cyrus⁴ is engaged to do, I should be glad if, as far as you can, you would look after them; and press Philotimus to dispatch; that I may have it in my power to make you some return in this kind. Pompeius came to Cumanum the 23d of April. He immediately sent a message of compliment to me. It is the following morning that I write this, and am going to him.

² In Atticus's library.

³ Pompeius.

⁴ An architect. See Book II. Letter III.

LETTER X.

(GRÆV. IX.)

I SHOULD be glad to know if the Tribunes really prevent the census by vitiating the days for holding it;¹ such is the report here; likewise what they are doing, or what is their design generally respecting the censurate. I have been here with Pompeius. He talked a good deal about the Republic; and was dissatisfied with himself, “as he said.” For so we must speak of this man. He despised the province of Syria, and extolled that of Spain. Here again we must subjoin—“as he said.” And I imagine, whenever we speak of him, we should add this; as Phœylides does in the beginning of his poems—“This also is by Phœylides.” He expressed his thanks to you for having undertaken to place the statues² for him: and towards me he shewed particular kindness. He also came to me at Cumanum from his own villa. He appeared to me to desire nothing less than that Messalla should stand for

¹ We have before seen instances of this practice of the magistrates, who observed the heavens in order to prevent the public business.

² These statues were for the ornament of the theatre which Pompeius was now erecting.

the consulship. If you know any thing about it, I should wish to be informed. I am much obliged to you for saying that you will commend my fame to Luceius,³ and that you frequently visit my house. My brother Quintus writes me word, that having now his dear Cicero with him, he should go to you the 7th of May. I left Cumanum the 27th of April: and the same day I was at Naples with Lætus. The 28th of April, early in the morning, I have written this, setting off to Pompeianum.

LETTER XI.

I AM delighted with your letters, two of which I received together on the last day of the month. Go on to tell me the rest. I am anxious to know the whole business. Find out too, if you can, how this is: you may do it through Demetrius. Pompeius said that he expected Crassus in Albanum on the 28th, and that as soon as he arrived, they should go immediately to Rome, to examine the accounts of the public renters. I asked if they would do it during the exhibition of the gladiators? He replied, before they came on. How this is, if you either know at present, or else when he

³ By encouraging him to write the history of Cicero's consulship. See Book IV. Letter VI.

is come to Rome, I wish you would send me word. Here I am devouring books with a wonderful man, (so in truth I esteem him) Dionysius, who sends his compliments to you, and all your family. "Nothing is more delicious than universal information." Therefore, as to a man of curiosity, write to me distinctly what takes place the first day, what the second, what the Censors do, what Appius, what that popular Apuleia.¹ Lastly, I wish you to inform me what you are doing yourself. For, to say the truth, I am not so much delighted with the news, as with your letters. I have brought nobody with me besides Dionysius: yet I am not afraid of being without your conversation. I am charmed with the work.² You will give my book to Luceius. I send you that of Demetrius Magnes, that you may have a person ready to bring me back a letter from you.

¹ By this term Cicero is supposed to mean Clodius. Apuleius was the name of a seditious Tribune in Marius's time, who had driven into banishment Metellus Numidicus. The feminine termination is added in contempt, to mark his effeminacy and degeneracy.

² This probably alludes to something contained in Atticus's letters, and which must necessarily remain obscure.

LETTER XII.

EGNATIUS¹ is at Rome. But I spoke to him strongly upon Halimetus's business at Antium, and he promised to exert his influence with Aquilius. You will be able to see him therefore, if you wish it. I scarcely think I can offer my assistance to Macro; for on the 15th I see there is to be an auction at Larinum, which will last three days. I hope therefore, though you interest yourself so much about him, that you will excuse me. But, as you love me, come with Pilia to dine² at my house the 2d of next month: in short you must do it. On the first I mean to dine in the gardens of Crassipes, by way of an inn. I shall elude the order of the Senate,³ and shall get home after dinner, that I maybe ready the next morning for Milo. I shall there see you, and remind you of your engagement. All my family join in kind regards.

¹ A banker.

² The Latin *cæna*, which is usually translated supper, nearly corresponds to our dinner: it was commonly served about three or four o'clock in the afternoon. The *prandium* of the Romans resembled our luncheon.

³ This order required every senator in Rome to attend at the meetings of the Senate.

LETTER XIII.

I SEE that you are apprized of my having come to Tuseulanum the 15th of November: there I met Dionysius. We wish to be at Rome the 15th of next month. What do I say? we wish? nay, but we must be there. Milo's marriage is to be celebrated; and there is some expectation of the Comitia being held.¹ If this is confirmed, I am not sorry to have been absent during the altercations, which I understand have taken place in the Senate.² For I must either have supported what I could not approve; or must have been wanting in attention, where I ought not. But I hope you will describe to me, as distinctly as possible, these matters, and the present state of the Republic, and how the Consuls³ bear this rude treatment. I am quite thirsty for news: and if you ask me, I must say that I have sad mis-

¹ The Comitia for the election of the next year's Consuls, which had been factiously interrupted.

² These altercations probably relate to the proposal of confirming the governments of Gaul, Spain, and Syria, to Cæsar, Pompeius, and Crassus, for five years.

³ Domitius Ænobarbus and Appius Claudius Pulcher were elected almost at the end of the year, the election having been prevented from taking place at the ordinary time.

givings. They say that our Crassus went out in his military dress not quite with the same dignity as his coëval formerly L. Paullus, then a second time Consul. O the wicked man!⁴ I have finished the oratorical books with care: they have occupied much of my time and attention: you may get them transcribed. I have also to beg this of you, that you will make me an accurate representation of the present state of things, that I may not come thither quite a stranger.

LETTER XIV.

OUR friend Vestorius has informed me by letter, that he believes you left Rome on the 10th of May, later than he had mentioned, because you had not been quite well. I shall be very glad to hear that you are better. I wish you would write home to your people to let me have access to your books, in the same manner as if you were there. Amongst others, I particularly want Varro's works.¹ For I must take

⁴ Crassus went out under the curse of the Tribune Ateius.

¹ Varro had written several treatises on the History and Antiquities of Rome, with which he was particularly conversant. Cicero was probably engaged in his work on Government.

some things from thence for the books which I have in hand, and which I hope you will approve. I should be glad, if you have any news, especially from my brother Quintus,² next from C. Cæsar, and if you can tell me any thing of the Comitia, or the Republic (for you commonly soon smell out these matters) that you would let me know. If you have nothing to tell me, yet let me hear from you; for your letters can never be unseasonable, or unwelcome. But, above all, I beg you to come back to us as soon as you have finished your business, and completed your journey³ to your mind. Make my compliments to Dionysius. Farewell.

LETTER XV.

I AM much pleased with what you have done about Eutychides,¹ who will have your old name of Titus with your new one of Cecilius: as Dionysius's name is compounded of yours

² Q. Cicero was lately made lieutenant to Cæsar in Gaul.

³ A journey into Asia, mentioned in the next letter.

¹ Eutychides seems to have been a slave, to whom Atticus had given his freedom at the instance of Cicero; and, as was usual on such occasions, had given him his own name in addition to what he bare before.

and mine into Marcus Pomponius. I shall be particularly glad if Eutyichides understands that this has been done out of your attention to my wishes ; and that his kindness towards me in my distress was not lost upon me at the time, and has not been forgotten since. I conclude it was necessary to undertake your Asiatic journey. For without sufficient cause you never would have gone so far from your friends and all that you hold dear. But your kindness of heart and affection will best be shewn by your speedy return. I have some fear however lest you should be detained by the urbanity of the rhetorician Clodius, and by Pituanus, who, they say, is a man of great learning, and now addicted to Greek literature. But, if you would be esteemed a man of probity, come back to us at the time you appointed. You shall be at liberty to enjoy the society of these persons at Rome, when they are safely arrived. You say that you are wishing to hear from me. I have written to you, and upon various subjects, all detailed in a journal. But I suppose, as you do not seem to have remained long in Epirus, my letter never reached you. But the kind of letters I send you is such, that I do not care to entrust them to any body, unless I can depend upon his delivering them to you. Now hear the state of affairs at Rome. On the 5th of July

Sufenas and Cato² were acquitted; Procilius was condemned. From hence we see that these mighty Areopagites³ consider the canvassing, the Comitia, the interregnum, the dignity of the State, nay, the Republic itself, to be of no account. We ought indeed to avoid killing a houskeeper in his own house;⁴ yet this is no great matter; for 22 acquitted, 28 condemned. Publius⁵ indeed, eloquently summing up his accusation, had some effect upon the minds of the judges: Hortensius⁶ appeared in the cause like himself: I did not say a word: for my timid girl, who is now unwell, was afraid that what I might say would offend Publius's spirit. This business being concluded, the Reatini⁷ brought me to their paradise, to support their cause against the

² This means Caius Cato, who with Sufenas and Procilius had been guilty of great excesses, as Tribunes of the people.

³ Said in derision of the judges, before whom the three above named were tried.

⁴ Besides the charge of violence, which attached to Cato and Sufenas, Procilius appears to have been accused of murder.

⁵ P. Clodius at this time attended to the business of pleading, and was a man of good ability.

⁶ In the original it is Hortalus, which was another of Hortensius's names, by which he is also called elsewhere in these letters.

⁷ The inhabitants of Reate, about 40 miles N.E. from Rome, a place celebrated for its beauty.

people of Interamna, before the Consul and ten commissioners ; because the water of the lake Velinus, which had been let out by Manius Curio, by cutting through the hill, flows down into the Nar ; upon which depends the drainage, yet moderate moisture, of Rosea. I lived with Axius, who also took me to the place called the Seven Waters. I returned to Rome on Fonteius's account the 9th of July. I came into the theatre ; and, first, was received with a great and general applause (but this is of no consequence, and it was silly in me to mention it) ; then, I gave my attention to Antiphon. He had received his freedom before he came upon the stage. Not to keep you in'doubt ; he bore away the palm. Nothing could be more insignificant than his figure, nothing more defective than his voice, nothing more just than his acting. This you must keep to yourself: yet in the *Andromache* he was greater than *Astyanax* himself.⁸ In the other parts he had no body equal to him. You will ask now how I liked *Arbuscula* ? I was very much pleased with her. The games were magnificent, and well received. The fighting with beasts was

⁸ I understand Cicero to mean that Antiphon played the part of *Astyanax*, in the play of *Andromache* ; and though his figure and voice were both very deficient, yet he acted with more justness, than *Astyanax* himself could have exhibited.

put off to another time. Follow me now into the Campus Martius. The canvass is carried on with great warmth; but, as Homer says, "I will give you a sign." Interest rose on the ides⁹ of July from four to eight per cent. You will say, I am not sorry for that. O man! O citizen! Memmius is supported by the whole weight of Cæsar's influence: with him the Consuls have joined Domitius; under what conditions I dare not commit to a letter. Pompeius storms, and complains, and favors Scaurus; but whether he does this in appearance, or in earnest, is matter of doubt. There is no eminence in any of the candidates: money levels all distinction. Messalla is drooping; not that his courage, or his friends fail him; but the junction of the Consuls, and Pompeius are against him. The candidates for the tribunate have sworn to petition under the arbitration of Cato. They have deposited with him 500 Sestertia (£4000.) on condition that whoever should by Cato be found guilty of bribery, should lose that sum, which is to be divided amongst his competitors. I write this

⁹ It was usual, in ancient Rome, to collect the interest of money on the ides, or near the middle, of every month. Cecilius, to whose fortune, and name, Atticus had succeeded, obtained his wealth by this kind of usury; and by what follows, it is probable that Atticus continued the same practice.

the day before the Comitia are expected to take place. But if they do take place, and the messenger is not gone, I will give you the whole history of them on the 28th of July. If, as it is believed, the elections should be carried without expense, Cato alone will have been able to do more than all the judges. I have been defending Messius, who is recalled from his lieutenancy: for Appius had sent him out a lieutenant to Cæsar. Servilius ordered him to be present. He has the support of the tribes Pomptina, Velina, and Mæcia. There is a sharp contest; but considerable progress is made. As soon as I am free from this, I am engaged for Drusus; then for Scaurus. Here are noble titles provided for my speeches. Perhaps I shall have also the Consuls elect. If Scaurus is not one of them, he will have great difficulty in securing a favorable sentence. From my brother Quintus's letters I suspect he is now in Britain. I am in some anxiety to know what he is doing. One thing I have gained; that I have repeated and certain assurances of Cæsar's kindness and friendship. I should be glad if you would make my compliments to Dionysius, and ask and persuade him to come as soon as he can, to instruct my young Cicero, and myself too.

LETTER XVI.

You may judge how busy I am, by receiving this letter¹ in the hand writing of a clerk. On the frequency of your letters I have nothing to accuse you: but most of them only let me know where you were, as coming from you; or, besides, informed me that you were well. I was particularly glad to receive two letters of this kind almost at the same time, which you sent from Buthrotum; for I was anxious to know that you had had a good passage. But this frequent correspondence rather pleased me by its quickness, than by its copiousness. The letter, which your guest M. Paccius delivered to me, was indeed important, and full of matter. To this therefore I shall write in answer; and in the first place must tell you that I have shewn Paccius by words, and deeds, the weight of your recommendation: so that though he was before quite a stranger to me, I have received him into close familiarity. I shall now proceed to the other parts of your

¹ Several of the latter letters of this fourth Book, especially this, seem to have been written at different intervals, and to have been strangely misarranged. At this distance of time it would be fruitless to attempt to disentangle their contents.

letter. Varro, about whom you write to me, shall be introduced in some place,² if only a place can be found for him. But you are aware of the nature of my dialogues; so that in those upon oratory, which you so highly commend, no mention could be made of any body, who was not known, or heard of, by those who carry on the disputation. This, which I have begun on the subject of Government, I have attributed to the persons of Africanus, and Philus, and Lælius, and Manilius: and have added the young men Q. Tubero, P. Rutilius, and Lælius's two sons-in-law Scævola and Fannius. I thought therefore, since I mean to prefix an introduction to each book, as Aristotle has done in those which he calls his public treatises, of making some occasion for naming him; which I understand you approve. I only wish I may be able to accomplish my undertaking; for I have embraced, as you perceive, a great and momentous subject, and one which demands much leisure, which I exceedingly want. When in those books which you commend, you miss the person of Scævola, you must know that I have withdrawn it not inadvertently; but have followed the example of our divine Plato in his Republic. There, when Socrates had come

² That is, I will endeavour to introduce his name into some part of my writings.

into the Piræus to Cephalus, a rich and pleasant old man, as long as the first dialogue was going on, the old man is present at the disputation; then, having himself delivered his opinion, he says that he must go away upon some religious business; and he does not afterwards return. I imagine Plato thought it hardly proper to detain a person of that age any longer in so protracted a discussion. Much more I thought it right to use the same discretion in regard to Scævola, whose age, and state of health, you remember, as well as his honors; which made it hardly becoming in him to remain for several days in Crassus's Tusculan villa. Besides, the subject of the first book was congenial with Scævola's studies; the others, as you know, contain technical reasonings, at which I did not choose to have that cheerful old man, such as you knew him, to be present. I shall pay attention to what you tell me concerning my daughter's settlement; for by the testimony, as you say, of Aurelius, it is a good security: and by this also I shall recommend myself to my dear Tullia. I am not wanting to Vestorius: for I understand this to be your wish; and I take care to let him know it. But are you aware, that while we are both ready to serve him, nothing can be more untractable? Now for what you ask about C. Cato. You know that he was acquitted on

the Junian and Licinian law ; and I foretell that he will be acquitted on the Fufian ; and that, with even more satisfaction to his accusers, than to his supporters. He has however returned into friendship with me and Milo. Drusus is prosecuted by Licinius, with leave to challenge the judges on the third of July. The rumours about Procilius are not favorable ; but you know how the judgments are given. Hirrus is reconciled with Domitius. The decree of the Senate, which the Consuls have proposed relating to the provinces, “Who- ever hereafter,” &c. never pleased me, because I knew that the declaration of Memmius³ must be very offensive to Cæsar. My friend Messalla, and his competitor Domitius, have been very liberal towards the people. Nothing can exceed the favor in which they are held : they are sure of being Consuls. But the Senate has decreed, that previous to the Comitia an inquiry should be made without publishing the result.⁴ These resolutions, for the general exe-

³ A factious engagement entered into between the Consuls and the two candidates, Memmius and Domitius, for their mutual support. The decree of the Senate alluded to must have been founded on this iniquitous contract, which Memmius, who was supported by Cæsar, declared afterwards in disgust to the Senate. See Letter XVIII.

⁴ The sentence was not to be declared till after the election, yet so as to make void the election of those who should be found guilty.

cution of which an allotment of judges was made⁵ to each candidate, gave the candidates great alarm. But some of the judges, amongst whom was Opimius Antius, called upon the Tribunes to prevent any judgment without the sanction of the people. This succeeded. The Comitia were put off by a decree of the Senate, till the law for the reserved judgment should be passed: the day for the law arrived: Terentius interceded: the Consuls, who had conducted the business with an easy hand, referred it to the Senate. Here was Abdera itself,⁶ not without some observations from me. You will say, "cannot you be quiet?" Pardon me; it is hardly possible. For what could be so absurd? The Senate had decreed that the Comitia should not be held till the law had passed; and if any body interceded, that the whole business should be taken again into consideration. It was first moved with indifference; intercession was made without any apparent unwillingness: the business was referred to the Senate; upon which they passed a resolution, that it was desirable the Comitia should be held at the very earliest time. Scaurus, who was acquitted during those few days of

⁵ The passage in the original is obscure, and probably corrupt. I have given what I suppose to be the meaning of it.

⁶ Abdera was proverbially stupid.

business, when I defended his cause with great eloquence, (for Scævola by his observation of the heavens had stopped the meetings of the people every day till the end of September, the day before I write this) had given ample gratuities to the people by their tribes at his own house; but though his bounty was larger, that of the candidates who had been before him, seemed to be more acceptable. I should like to see your countenance while you read this; for, to say the truth, you have some interest in having this traffic continue through several returns of the fair days.⁷ But the Senate was to be held to day, that is, the first of October, for it is just beginning to dawn. There will nobody speak freely besides Antius and Favonius; for Cato is ill. About me you need not fear: yet I make no promises. What more do you enquire about? the judgments, I imagine, which have been passed. Drusus and Scaurus are found not guilty. It is thought the three candidates will be accused; Domitius by Memmius, Messalla by Q. Pompeius Rufus, Scaurus by Triarius or by L. Cæsar. “What, you will ask, will you be able to say for them?” May I die, if I know. In those three books, which you commend,⁸ I find

⁷ The *nundinæ*, or days of fair, were held every ninth day. Atticus had some concern with them by reason of his money transactions.

⁸ In his Treatise de Oratore.

nothing. Now, to give you my opinion of affairs, we must bear them. Do you ask how I conducted myself?⁹ with firmness, and freedom. “But he,¹⁰ you will say, how did he bear it?” Patiently, conceiving that he was bound to have some consideration for my dignity, till satisfaction should be made to me.¹¹ How then was he acquitted?¹² Through the incredible weakness of his accusers, that is, of L. Lentulus the younger, whom every body cries out upon as guilty of prevarication; then through the extraordinary exertions of Pompeius, and the corruption of the judges. Yet after all, 32 found him guilty, 38 acquitted him. The other trials are still hanging over him: so that he is not fairly clear of his difficulties. You will say, “How then do you bear all this?” In truth, very well; and I am very well satisfied with myself for doing so. We have lost, my Pomponius, not only all the life and spirit, but the very complexion and ancient form of the State. There is no longer any Republic in which I can take pleasure, or acquiesce with any satisfaction. “Is this then, you will say,

⁹ This probably alludes to the trial of Gabinius.

¹⁰ Pompeius, who was a friend to Gabinius.

¹¹ Gabinius had conspired with Clodius in his attack upon Cicero.

¹² Here are inserted two Greek words: but what they are, or what they import, has not been satisfactorily ascertained.

“ what you bear so easily ? ” Even so : for I remember how flourishing the State was, not long since, when I was at the head of affairs ; and what return I have met with : so that I am troubled with no anxiety on that account. They, who were mortified at my having any share of power, are now outrageous that one man should possess all power. Many circumstances afford me comfort : yet I do not descend from my state ; but return to that course of life which is most congenial to my nature, literature, and study. The toil of pleading I relieve with the charms of oratory : my house, and my country seats, afford me delight : I do not consider from whence I have fallen, but from whence I have risen. If I possess but my brother, and you, the rest may go to ruin, for me. I may still philosophize with you. That part of my mind, where passion once resided, is grown callous : private and domestic concerns alone afford me pleasure. You will perceive a wonderful exemption from care, for which I principally depend upon your return : for there is nobody on earth whose sentiments are so congenial with my own. But hear something more : things tend to an interregnum ;¹³ and there is some surmise of a

¹³ When there were no Consuls, an interrex was appointed, and changed every five days.

Dictator.¹⁴ Indeed there is much talk of it; which was of some use to Gabinius before timid judges.¹⁵ The consular candidates are all charged with bribery. Gabinius too is added to the number; whom P. Sylla accused, not doubting but that he was out of the city; while Torquatus opposed it without any effect. But they will all be acquitted; nor will any body hereafter be condemned, unless he be guilty of murder. But all this is prosecuted with severity, so that the witnesses become eager. M. Fulvius Nobilior has been found guilty: many others, shrewd people, do not even wait to answer to their accusation. What more¹⁶ news? yet there is some. Upon the acquittal of Gabinius, other judges, in indignation, an hour after, condemned by the Papian law one Antiochus Gabinius from among the assistants of the painter Sepolis, a freed-man, and serjeant of Gabinius. This man therefore, charged by the Papian law with offence against the state, immediately said in Greek, “Have I not known

¹⁴ In the person of Pompeius.

¹⁵ Lest Pompeius, had he been made Dictator, should persecute them.

¹⁶ These breaks, of which there are several in this letter, may probably be the commencement of additions made by the author at several different times before he had a convenient opportunity of sending it.

“ thee, Mars, along with Paphia ?”¹⁷ Pontinius wants to enter in triumph the 2d of November. Cato and Servilius the Prætors, and Q. Mucius the Tribune, openly oppose it : for they say that no law has been passed for his command ;¹⁸ and in truth it was passed in a foolish manner. But Pontinius will have the Consul Appius with him. Cato however affirms that, as long as he lives, he shall not have a triumph. I imagine this, like many other things of the same kind, will come to nothing. Appius thinks of going into Cilicia at his own expense, without waiting for the law. I have replied to the letter I received by Paccius : let me inform you of the rest. I have learned from my brother’s letters more than I could have believed respecting Cæsar’s affection for me ; and it is abundantly confirmed by Cæsar’s own letters. The event of the Britannic war is anxiously expected ; for it appears that the access to the island is defended by prodigious bulwarks ; and it is now known there is not a grain of silver in the island, nor any hope of plunder, unless

¹⁷ It is not known whence the Greek is taken. It probably alludes to the fable of Mars being caught with the Paphian Venus by her husband Vulcan ; then it will mean that Gabinius was as guilty, as this his freed-man, under the same Papian law.

¹⁸ Before one entered Rome in triumph, it was necessary to pass a law permitting him to assume a military command for that day.

of slaves ; of whom I imagine you do not expect to find any skilled in letters, or in music. Paullus has now nearly built the court-house in the middle of the forum with the same ancient pillars ; but that which he has erected is very magnificent. What say you ? Nothing can be more acceptable, nothing more glorious, than that monument. Likewise the friends of Cæsar (myself I mean and Oppius, though you should burst with envy) towards that public work, which you used to praise to the skies, of enlarging the forum, and opening it quite to the Hall of Liberty, have disregarded the sum of 60,000 Sestertia (£500,000.) ; as the claims of individuals could not be settled for less. We shall accomplish a most noble work. For in the Campus Martius we are going to make marble enclosures covered in for the Comitia of the tribes ; and we shall surround them with a lofty portico a mile in circuit. To this work will also be added a public hall. You will say, “ What good will this do me ? ” What ? should I conceal from you these Roman concerns ? For when you ask what is doing at Rome, I cannot suppose you ask about the Census, which is now past all hope ; or about the judgments that may be given by the Coctian¹⁹ law. Now suffer me to scold you, if I have reason on my side. For you say in the letter,

¹⁹ It is not known what is meant by the Coctian law.

which C. Decimus delivered to me, dated from Buthrotum, that you thought it would be necessary for you to go into Asia. To me indeed it seemed to signify nothing, whether you transacted your business by your agents, or in person; since you so often go away, and stay away so long.²⁰ But I would rather have considered this with you, while it was yet open to discussion; for then I might have done something: as it is, I shall check the reproof I was going to give you. I wish it may have any effect in hastening your return. I write to you less frequently, because I am uncertain where you are, or where you are likely to be. I have thought fit however to give this letter to one who, it was probable, would see you. Since you think that you shall go into Asia, I should be glad to know at what time I may expect you here, and what you have done about Eutychides.²¹

²⁰ I conceive Cicero to mean that Atticus so often absented himself, that it was of little moment to him whether he went in person to Asia, or whether he remained at Buthrotum.

²¹ See Letter xv. which ought probably to have followed, instead of preceding this. I suspect that this letter may have been the journal referred to in page 235.

LETTER XVII.

WITH what pleasure did I receive your letter, which I had been looking for ! O happy arrival ! O well observed promise, and rare fidelity ! O charming voyage ! How greatly was I alarmed, when I recollected the *coracles*¹ of your former passage. But, if I am not mistaken, I shall see you sooner than you mention. For I imagine you thought that your ladies were in Apulia ; which not being the case, why should Apulia detain you ? for you must give up a few days to Vestorius, and taste again, after an interval, that Latin Atticism.² But then you fly up hither, and visit this genuine example of my Republic.³ I think I told you about the

¹ Boats of wicker covered with leather, the Greek word of the text being probably equivalent to *πλοια διφθερια*, or *δερματινα*, described by Cæsar, B. C. i. 54 ; and such as are still used in some places. I suspect this, like many of the Greek terms in these letters, may have been used by Atticus himself. It is meant to indicate the smallness of the vessel in which he had crossed the sea.

² Vestorius, it must be supposed, used the Latin language with an elegance which justified this expression ; Atticism denoting the perfection of just composition.

³ Spoken ironically in comparing the corrupt state of Rome with the model proposed in his treatise on Government.

money openly distributed amongst the tribes from a certain place, previous to the Comitia: also that Gabinius was acquitted: I take it for granted that he will be in authority. As to your enquiries about Messalla, I do not know what to say. I never saw candidates so equal. With the strength of Messalla you are well acquainted. Scaurus has been arraigned by Triarius. If you ask, I must say there is no great sympathy excited in his favor; yet his Ædileship has rendered his memory not unacceptable; and the recollection of his father has weight with the country voters. The other two plebeians⁴ are so matched, that Domitius is strongly supported by his friends, and derives some advantage from his public shows, which however were not very well received; Memmius is recommended by Cæsar's soldiers, and relies upon Pompeius's influence in the north of Italy. If he does not prevail with these helps, it is supposed that somebody will be found to put off the Comitia till Cæsar's arrival; especially now that C. Cato has been acquitted.⁵ On the 24th of October I received letters from my brother Quintus, and from Cæsar, dated from the shores of Britannia, the latest on the 26th of

⁴ It was necessary to have one of the Consuls of a plebeian family.

⁵ C. Cato had factiously prevented the elections on a former occasion.

September; at which time the war was finished, and hostages had been received; there was no plunder; but a sum of money was imposed. They were going to transport the army back from Britannia. Q. Pilius had already set out to join Cæsar. Now if you have any regard for me, and your connexions, or if you have any faith, or prudence, and think of enjoying your own comforts, you ought to make haste and come to us. In truth I cannot patiently bear to be without you. What wonder that I should long for you, when I so much long for Dionysius? whom both I, and my Cicero, shall beg from you, when the time comes. The last letter⁶ I received from you, was dated the 9th of August from Ephesus.

LETTER XVIII.

I SUPPOSE you think that I have forgot my custom and purpose, and that I write to you seldomer than I used to do: but the truth is, that seeing the uncertainty of your actual situation, and of your movements, I have not directed letters to Epirus, nor to Athens, nor to Asia, nor intrusted them to any body that

⁶ This, if it is in its proper place, must mean the last letter previous to that which announced Atticus's arrival in Italy.

was not going to you. For my letters are of such a kind, that if they should not be delivered, it might occasion me a good deal of trouble; often containing secrets which I do not care to trust even to my own clerks. It is amusing to guess the issue: the Consuls are in great disgrace, owing to C. Memmius the candidate having declared in the Senate the contract which he and his competitor Domitius¹ had made with the Consuls; that if through their influence they should get to be made Consuls, they both bound themselves in the sum of 400,000 Sestertii (£3700.) to produce three Augurs, who would assert that they had been present at the passing of a law for giving military command to the Consuls in the provinces they desired, though no such law had ever passed; and two consular senators, who would say they had been present at the signing of the decree for the consular provinces, though in fact there had not been even any Senate assembled. This contract, which was declared to have been made not verbally, but by names and entries in several tablets, was actually produced by Memmius, at the recommendation of Pompeius, with the names inserted. Hereupon Appius² was unaltered;

¹ Cn. Domitius Calvinus, the same who is afterwards called Calvinus.

² Appius Claudius Pulcher, one of the Consuls.

he lost nothing. The other Consul³ was confounded, and, I may say, completely prostrate. But Memmius, having broken off the engagement against the wish of Calvinus, had entirely cooled again;⁴ and was the more inclined now to think of a Dictator, and to favour the suspension of public business, and the general licentiousness. Observe the evenness and freedom of my mind, and my contempt of the Seleueian province,⁵ and indeed my agreeable connexion with Cæsar; for this plank alone affords me pleasure in the general shipwreck. Ye gods! with what honor, dignity, and favor, does he treat my, and your, Quintus? I could do no more if I had the command myself. He tells me that Cæsar has kindly given him the choice of a winter legion.⁶ Should you not love this man? Who of those others deserve as well of us? But did I tell you that I was lieutenant to Pompeius, and that I was to be out of the city from the 13th of January? This appeared to me convenient for many reasons. But I shall say no more. The rest I

³ L. Domitius Aheubarbus, the other Consul.

⁴ Cæsar having shewn his displeasure at the disclosure made by Memmius, the latter ceased to prosecute the business further.

⁵ The province of Cilicia, which Appius coveted, and to which Cicero might expect to be appointed.

⁶ Where he would choose to have his winter quarters.

must keep till we meet, that you may still look for some news. Remember me kindly to Dionysius, for whom I have not merely reserved, but have even built, an apartment. For to the supreme pleasure I take in your return, I derive a great accession from his arrival. The day you come to me, I intreat you, by the love you bear me, to remain with your attendants at my house.

[Between this and the following Book there appears to have intervened a period of more than two years.]

BOOK V.

LETTER I.

I PERCEIVED your feelings, and am very conscious of my own, at our separation: which should make you take the more pains to prevent any fresh decree for the prolongation of my government;¹ that this our want of each other may not last beyond a year. About Annius Saturninus you have managed very judiciously. As for the securities, I request that, as long as you remain in Rome, you will provide them: and there are some securities required upon taking possession,² among which

¹ Cicero was appointed to the government of Cilicia, including a considerable part of Asia Minor. Those who had been Consuls, and Prætors, were usually rewarded with these governments, from which they drew enormous sums of money. Cicero always disliked the office, as foreign to his habits, and was anxious for the time when he might lay it down.

² It is always difficult to understand the money transactions of a foreign country; and it is not surprising that

are those on the Memmian and Atilian estates. About Oppius you have done as I wished; especially by speaking to him of the 800 Sestertia (£6660.), which I should be glad to discharge, even by borrowing (if necessary) for that purpose, without waiting for the final settlement of my accounts. I come now to that cross line at the end of your letter, in which you remind me about your sister. The state is this: when I came to Arpinum, as soon as my brother arrived, we first talked, and for some time, about you; from which I deviated into what I and you had said to each other in Tusculanum upon the subject of your sister. I never saw any thing so gentle and placid, as my brother was at that time towards her; so that if for any reason offence had been taken, it did not appear. So it passed that day. The day following we left Arpinum; and, it being a festival, Quintus was obliged to stop at Arcanum;³ I slept at Aquinum, but took some refreshment at Arcanum. You are acquainted

this difficulty should be much increased by the intervention of so many ages, in which the customs, as well as the records of particular cases, have been lost. The interpretation here offered, if it be not the exact sense of the original, is probably sufficiently near to it for all modern purposes.

³ This was a place near Arpinum, where Quintus having an estate, thought it proper to assist at some local ceremonies.

with that estate. As soon as we got there, Quintus said in the kindest manner, "Pomponia, do you invite the ladies; I will send for the boys."⁴ Nothing could be more gentle, as it seemed to me, not only in words, but also in his intention, and countenance. But she, in my hearing, replied, "I am only a stranger here myself:" which, I imagine, alluded to Statius having gone before to prepare things for us. Then said Quintus to me, "See what I have to bear every day." You will say, "What was all this?" It is a great deal; and has given me much concern; so absurdly and harshly did she answer in words and looks. I kept it to myself in sorrow. We all sat down, except her; to whom Quintus sent something from the table, which she rejected. In short, nothing could be milder than my brother, nothing ruder than your sister. I pass over many circumstances, which at the time were more offensive to me, than to Quintus himself. Thence I proceeded to Aquinum; Quintus remained at Arcanum; but came to me at Aquinum the next morning, and told me that she had refused to sleep with him; and that when she went away, she continued just in the same humour, in which I had seen

⁴ These ladies here mentioned were probably Cicero's wife and daughter, who might be coming to take leave of him: the boys were the sons of Cicero and of Quintus.

her. In a word, you may tell her this if you please, that I thought there was a great want of courtesy in her behaviour that day. I have written to you perhaps more at length than was necessary, that you might perceive there was occasion on your side likewise for advice and admonition. Further, I have only to beg that you will execute my commissions before you leave Rome; that you will send me word of all that happens; that you will drive out Pontinius;⁵ and that you will take care to let me know as soon as you go. Be assured nothing is dearer or sweeter to me, than yourself. I took leave of A. Torquatus with great affection at Minturnæ. He is an excellent man. I wish you would tell him in the course of conversation, that I mentioned him in my letter to you.

LETTER II.

I WRITE this on the 10th of May, being on the point of leaving Pompeianum, so as to sleep to night with Pontius in Trebulanum. From thence I mean to proceed by regular journeys without any delay. While I was at Cumanum,

⁵ Pontinius had been appointed one of Cicero's lieutenants.

Hortensius came to see me, which I took very kindly. Upon his asking if I had any commands, I gave him a general answer in other respects; but this I particularly requested, that as far as lay in his power he would not suffer my government to be prolonged. In which I should be glad if you would confirm him; and assure him that I was very much gratified by his visit, and by his promise of doing this, or any thing else I might want. In the same cause I have engaged my friend Furnius also, who I saw would be Tribune of the people for the year. I had almost a little Rome in my Cuman villa, so great was the concourse in that neighbourhood: whilst my friend Rufio, seeing that he was watched by Vestorius, played a trick upon him: for he never called upon me. Indeed? when Hortensius came, both unwell, and so far; Hortensius too;¹ when a vast number besides; did not he come? No, I say. Did you not see him then, you will say? How could I help seeing him, when I passed through the town of Puteoli? where I bowed to him while he was engaged, I believe, in some business: afterwards I just bid him farewell, when he

¹ If the repetition of Hortensius's name be correct, it must in this second place mean "one of such distinction, " and so circumstanced with regard to me."

came on purpose² from his villa to ask if I had any commands. Ought one to think him unkind? or ought one not rather to think him in that very circumstance deserving of commendation, that he should not have pressed to be heard?³ But to return. Do not imagine that I have any other consolation in this great plague, than that I hope it will not last more than a year. Many, judging from the custom of others, do not believe me really to wish this: you, who know me, will use all diligence, when the time comes for its being settled. When you return from Epirus, I beg you to write to me on the subject of the Republic, if there is any thing likely to happen. For we have not yet received satisfactory information how Cæsar bare the vote of the Senate respecting his authority.⁴ There was a report too about the people beyond the Po, that they

² If the word *expense* be retained, I conceive this to be its proper interpretation.

³ It is probable Rufio and Vestorius might have had some dispute, which was to be referred to Cicero's decision.

⁴ I am not ignorant of the term *autoritas* being applied to such votes of the Senate, as were prevented from passing into a law. Still it appears to me that the best sense of this passage is by understanding the word to refer to Cæsar's authority, which was at this time attacked by the Consul Marcellus, who proposed a decree for shortening the period of his command in Gaul, and preventing one who was not present from being elected Consul.

were ordered to elect four magistrates.⁵ If this be so, I am afraid of great commotions: but I shall learn something from Pompeius.⁶

LETTER III.

ON the 10th of May I came to Pontius in Trebulanum. There your two letters were delivered to me, the third day after they had been written. The same day I delivered to Philotimus a letter for you from Pansa's Pompeian villa. At present I have nothing particular to tell you. Pray let me know what are the reports about the Republic; for I perceive great apprehensions in the towns here, though much of it is no doubt groundless. But I should be glad to be informed what you think likely to happen, and when. I do not know what letter you wish me to answer; for I have yet received none besides the two, which were delivered to me together in Trebulanum; one of which contained P. Licinius's proclamation, and was dated the 7th of May; the other was in answer to mine from Minturnæ. I am afraid there may have been something of importance in

⁵ The election of four magistrates constituted a free town, and gave the right of voting in the Roman assemblies.

⁶ Cicero was afterwards to see Pompeius, who was at Tarentum. See Letter vi.

that which I have not received, to which you wish me to reply. I will put you into favor with Lentulus. I am much pleased with Dionysius. Your servant Nicanor is of great use to me. I have now nothing more to say, and the day already breaks. I intend getting to Beneventum to day. By my moderation and diligence, I trust I shall give satisfaction. From Pontius's house at Trebulanum the 11th of May.

LETTER IV.

I CAME to Beneventum the 11th of May, where I received the letter, to which you alluded in one that reached me before, and which I answered the same day from Trebulanum by L. Pontius.¹ Indeed I have received two at Beneventum; one of which was brought me early in the morning by Funisulanus; the other by my secretary Tullius. The attention you pay to my first and principal commission²

¹ Cicero having written this letter at Pontius's house, it is to be supposed that when Cicero proceeded to Beneventum, Pontius at the same time went up to Rome.

² This probably refers to the re-marriage of his daughter, who appears to have been separated from Crassipes by a divorce. It must not be forgotten that divorces at that time were exceedingly common.

is exceedingly grateful to me : but your departure weakens my hope. He brought me to this,³ not because I was altogether satisfied, but because the want of any thing better obliged me to consent. Respecting the other, whom you seem to think not unsuitable, I doubt whether my daughter could be brought to admit him ; and it would be difficult for your ladies to find out. On my part I have no objection. But you will be gone, and the business must be settled in my absence. You will consider my situation. For if either of us were there, something might be done by means of Servilius to the satisfaction of Servius : as it is, if this should now be approved, I hardly see how it can be managed. I now come to the letter I received by Tullius, and feel much obliged by your attention about Marcellus. If therefore a decree of the Senate should be passed, you will let me know : or if not, you will nevertheless accomplish the business :⁴ for it must of necessity be granted to me, and to

³ It is not certain of whom Cicero is speaking ; it appears to have been some person who had proposed to marry Tullia, and who had induced Cicero to listen to his offer. She did in fact marry P. Cornelius Dolabella.

⁴ The object of Cicero was probably to get a decree authorizing him to raise a supply of troops ; which he considers necessary for himself and Bibulus, on account of the hostility of the Parthians who bordered on their provinces.

Bibulus. But I do not doubt that the decree of the Senate has already been dispatched, especially as the populace have their advantage in it. You have done well about Torquatus. It will be time enough to think of Maso and Ligur when they arrive. As to what Chærippus says;⁵ since here also you withhold your opinion; O this province! and must he too be satisfied? He must so far be satisfied, that nothing may come before the Senate. Consider what is to be done, or pay down the money: for about the others I do not care. It happens however fortunately that you should have talked with Scrofa. What you say about Pontinius is very just. For so it is, that if he comes to Brundisium before the 1st of June, there will be less occasion to press M. Annius, and Tullius. I like what you heard from Sicinius,⁶ provided the exception does not affect any body to whom I am under obligations. But I will consider of it: for I approve the thing itself. What I may determine about my journey; and what Pompeius will do about the five prefects;⁷ when I have learnt from him, I will

⁵ He seems to have brought up some demand against Cicero, the nature of which is not known.

⁶ It was usual to issue a proclamation upon entering on a provincial government. Cicero had been enquiring what others had done on similar occasions; and it is to this that Sicinius's exception must be supposed to allude.

⁷ See afterwards in Letter vii.

let you know. Respecting Oppius, you have done right to assure him of the payment of the 800 Sestertia (£6660.): and now that you have Philotimus with you, bring the business to an end, and make up the account. And, as you love me, before you go away, enable me again to go on.⁸ You will have relieved me from a great source of uneasiness. I have now replied to all the contents of your letters: though I had almost omitted your want of paper.⁹ This is my concern, if your deficiency obliges you to write less. Take then 200 Sestertii (£1.16.), in order to supply yourself: though the smallness of this sheet shews my own parsimony in this respect; while it demands from you an account of all that is done or talked of. If you have any certain intelligence of Cæsar, I hope to hear from you; and again more particularly by Pontinius about every thing.

⁸ This appears to me to be the best interpretation of this passage, and most consistent with the context.

⁹ This badinage probably refers to some expression in Atticus's letter: or, it may be, to the cross line spoken of in Letter 1. This letter contains an unusual number of broken sentences, and short allusions, which involve in them considerable doubt of the true meaning.

LETTER V.

I HAVE positively nothing to say : for I have neither any thing to desire of you, considering there has been nothing omitted ; nor any thing to tell you, for I know nothing ; and have no room for joking, so many things press upon me. Know this however, that I send this on the morning of the 15th of May, just setting out from Venusia. On this day it is probable that something will be done in the Senate. Let therefore your letters follow me, by which I may not only be made acquainted with all facts, but likewise with the current reports. I shall be glad to receive them at Brundisium : for there I design to wait for Pontinius till the day which you mentioned. I will give you a particular account of the conversations I may have at Tarentum with Pompeius on the subject of the Republic : though I wish to know how long I may properly write to you, that is, how long you are likely to remain in Rome ; that I may know to whom I ought hereafter to deliver my letters, and may not deliver them in vain. But before you go, at all events let that business be settled of the 20 and the 800 Sestertia (£166. and £6660.) I wish you would consider this as a thing of the very first importance and

necessity; that what I have begun to entertain¹ by your recommendation, I may complete by your assistance.

LETTER VI.

I CAME to Tarentum the 18th of May. Having determined to wait for Pontinius, I thought it best to pass the intermediate time with Pompeius, till he should arrive: especially as I found that Pompeius wished it, and even begged me to be with him, and at his house, every day: to which I readily agreed: for I shall get from him many good conversations on the subject of the Republic; and shall besides be furnished with instructions suitable for my new office. But I begin now to be shorter in writing to you, from my uncertainty whether you are at Rome, or already set out. As long as I remain in this ignorance, I will still write a few lines, rather than suffer an opportunity of sending to you to pass without a letter. At the same time I have now nothing to ask of you, or to tell you. I have made all my requests; which you will execute, as you

¹ He speaks of the friendship he had begun to have with Cæsar. The sums stated here, and elsewhere, as negotiated between him and Oppius, were apparently due to Cæsar.

promised: when I have any news, I will tell you. One thing however I shall not cease to urge, as long as I suppose you to remain in Rome, that you would leave that business completed respecting the account with Cæsar. I look eagerly for your letters; especially that I may know the time of your departure.

LETTER VII.

I SEND you a letter every day, or rather each day, shorter: for I become every day more apprehensive that you may have set out for Epirus. However, that you may see I have attended to your request, Pompeius says he shall present five new Prefects, as before, with exemption of service, and with the authority of magistrates.¹ After spending three days with Pompeius, in his own house, I am going to Brundisium this 20th of May. I leave

¹ Different conjectures have been formed respecting the text, and the meaning of this sentence. It seems to me most probable that Pompeius was allowed to nominate to Cicero's prefectures, which were often honorary, and while they gave authority, admitted of exemption from service. Cicero only insisted on excluding all persons concerned in traffick. See Letter XI. The proper business of the Prefect appears to have been to determine causes in such places where there were no authorised magistrates.

him an excellent citizen, and fully prepared to repel the evils which are apprehended. I shall hope to get a letter from you, that I may know both what you are doing, and where you are.

LETTER VIII.

It is now twelve days that I have been detained at Brundisium, partly by indisposition; from which however I am now recovered, having been free from fever; partly by the expectation of Pontinius's arrival, of which I have not yet received any intimation. But I am expecting to sail. If you are at Rome; which I scarcely suppose; but if you are, I should exceedingly wish you to attend to the following circumstance. I received information from Rome that my friend Milo complained in his letters of my unkindness, because Philotimus was a party in the purchase of his goods.¹ This I desired to be done by the advice of C. Duronius, whom I knew to be much attached to Milo, and such an one as you esteem him. His intentions and mine were, first, that the

¹ Philotimus was a freed-man of Terentia, Cicero's wife. Milo had been found guilty of the death of Clodius, and in consequence went into a voluntary exile at Marseilles; and his debts being very great, his estate was sold by public auction for the satisfaction of his creditors.

property might thus come under my control, and that no ill disposed purchaser might rob him of his slaves, of whom he has a great many with him; then, that the security he had wished to provide for Fausta,² might be ratified: added to which, if any thing could be saved, that I might the more easily save it. Now I should be glad if you would examine into the whole affair; for accounts are often exaggerated. But if he complains, if he writes to his friends, if Fausta is of the same mind, do not let Philotimus continue to have any concern in the property, contrary to Milo's wishes; for so I told him in person, and he engaged to do. It was no great object to me. But if what I have heard is undeserving of notice, you will judge what is right. Speak to Duronius. I have written also to Camillus, and to Lamia; and the rather, because I could not depend upon your being in Rome. In short, you will determine what you think most consistent with my honor, my reputation, and my interest.

² Fausta was Milo's wife.

LETTER IX.

I ARRIVED at Aetium¹ the 15th of June, having feasted like the Salii² at Corcyra, and Sybotis, upon the presents which Arcus and my friend Eutyichides³ had splendidly and kindly provided for me. I preferred going from Aetium by land, after having had a very unpleasant voyage. The doubling of Leneate too seemed to be attended with difficulty; and I did not think it becoming to proceed to Patræ in a small vessel without my equipage. I daily study myself, and direct my attendants, to carry into effect my determination, in which you often encouraged my speed, to discharge this office, which is out of the common⁴ course,

¹ On the coast of Acarnania in Greece. The same place that was afterwards distinguished by the engagement between Augustus and M. Antonius, which decided the empire of the world.

² The Salii were priests of Mars, who at the conclusion of their solemn processions used to partake of a splendid entertainment, from whence Salaric feasts derived their name.

³ Arcus and Eutyichides were freedmen belonging to Atticus, whose house at Buthrotum was near to Corcyra and Sybotis, through which Cicero passed after he had crossed the Adriatic. Eutyichides is mentioned before, Book iv. Letter xv.

⁴ It was usual for the Consuls to take a government

with the utmost moderation, and the utmost forbearance. I hope that the Parthians will be quiet, and that fortune will favor me: I shall do my part. Pray take care to let me know what you are doing; where you will be at successive times; how you left my affairs at Rome; and, above all, about the 20 and the 800⁵ Sestertia (£166 and £6660.) This you will accomplish in one letter carefully dispatched, so that it may reach me. But (though you are now absent, while the business of the provinces is not under consideration; yet will, as you wrote me word, be present at the time) remember to provide through your own influence, and through all my friends, especially through Hortensius, that my year of service may remain in its present state, and that no addition may be decreed. I am so earnest in this request, that I doubt if I should not even beg you to contend against any intercalation.⁶ But I must not impose every burden upon you.

immediately upon resigning their office. Cicero having declined this at the time, was now appointed out of the regular course.

⁵ Mentioned above in Letter v.

⁶ This is said jestingly. The irregularities of the year, previous to Cæsar's reformation of the Calendar, used to be rectified by the occasional insertion of a month, consisting of more or fewer days, at the discretion of the Pontifices, between the 23d and 24th of February. This was called an intercalary month.

At least however be firm upon the subject of the year. My affectionate and dear boy Cicero sends his compliments to you. I have always, as you know, had a regard for Dionysius; but I esteem him more and more every day, and particularly because he loves you, and is continually talking about you.

LETTER X.

HAVING reached Athens the 25th of June, I have been now three days expecting Pontinius, but have yet heard nothing certain about his arrival. I assure you my thoughts have been entirely engaged upon you: and though I was naturally led to this by my own feelings; yet these have been the more lively from the recollection that I was treading in your steps. In short, our whole conversation is about you. But you perhaps wish rather to hear something about me. I have to tell you then, that hitherto there has been no expense incurred, either publicly, or privately, upon me, or any of my train. Nothing is received under the sanction of the Julian law;¹ nothing from those with whom we lodge. My attendants

¹ By the Julian law the public officers of Rome were entitled to certain articles of provision in the towns through which they passed.

are all resolved to support my reputation. So far all is well. This being observed, has called forth much discourse and commendation among the Greeks. In what remains to be done, I study to conduct myself, as I understood you to approve. But it will be time to take credit for these matters, when we arrive at the peroration, and conclusion of the whole. The rest of my concerns are of such a nature, that I often reproach myself for not having devised some means of escaping from this employment. How little is it adapted to my habits! How true is that saying—"every one to his own trade." You will say—"What has already happened? you have not yet entered upon business." I know not; but I apprehend there is worse to come: though I bear this, as I hope and believe, to all appearance admirably; but I am worried in my inward feelings, by the many things which are every day arrogantly said, or concealed, in anger, and petulance, and every kind of foolish weakness: which I do not specify; not from any wish to hide them from you, but because they are irremediable. When I am returned safe, you shall admire my patience: it is a virtue I am deeply studying. But enough of this. Though I had little else to write about, not being able to guess even what you are doing, or where you are. Nor was I ever so long in ignorance of

my own affairs; what has been done about Cæsar's business; what about Milo's: and I have not only seen nobody, but have not so much as heard any report to inform me of what is going on in the Republic. If therefore you know any thing about these matters, with which you think I should like to be acquainted, you will confer a great kindness upon me by letting me hear it. What is there besides? Nothing truly but this, that I am highly delighted with Athens; with the city itself, and the ornaments of the city; with the affection of the people towards you, and their kindness also to me; but especially with the philosophical spirit which every where prevails.² If there is any good, it is to be found in Aristus, with whom I lodge: for I gave up your, or rather my Xeno, to Quintus: but the houses are so near, that we pass whole days together. As soon as you can, let me hear your plans, that I may know what you do, where you are, and above all, when you will be in Rome.

² This appears to me to be the true sense of this disputed passage. Had *ανω κατω* related to the ambiguity of the Academic philosophy, I apprehend it would have had the article *η* prefixed.

LETTER XI.

How is this? so often to send letters to Rome, yet none for you? Hereafter however I will rather write in vain, than suffer an opportunity to pass without writing to you. I entreat you by your fortunes¹ to secure, by all possible means, that the period of my government may not be prolonged. I cannot tell you how ardently I wish for the city; how ill I bear the impertinences of my present situation. Marcellus has acted shamefully about this citizen of Como.² If he had not held a magistracy, at least he belonged to one of the colonies on the Po:³ so that the offence given to our friend Pompeius, appears to me to be no less than

¹ A form of adjuration elsewhere occurring in Cicero's letters. However unusual it may be in England, it seemed right to preserve this character of the original in the translation.

² It seemed to be out of enmity to Cæsar, that the Consul Marcellus had ordered a person of Como, to which place Cæsar had extended the rights of citizenship, to be publicly beaten.

³ Pompeius's father had before got the same privileges to be given generally to the colonies bordering on the Po. How irregular it was to inflict such a punishment on a Roman citizen may be inferred from the history of S. Paul, Acts, c. xxii. 25.

that to Cæsar. But this is his concern. I thought also, as you say Varro asserts, that Pompeius was certainly going into Spain. I was sorry for it; and easily persuaded Theophanes that nothing was more to be wished, than that he should not go away any where. The Greek⁴ therefore will try what he can do; and his authority has the greatest weight with him. I send this on the 6th of July, the day of my leaving Athens, after having been there ten whole days. Pontinius is arrived; and at the same time Cn. Volusius: the Quæstor⁵ is here; and your Tullius alone absent. I have some open boats belonging to the Rhodians, and some double-oared vessels of the Mitylenæans, and others. I hear nothing of the Parthians. For the rest, I trust to the gods. Hitherto I have made my journey through Greece with great applause; nor have I yet any complaint to make of my people: they seem to know me, and my purpose, and the conditions of their service; and are entirely subservient to my good estimation. Henceforth, if that proverb be true, "like master, like man," they will assuredly continue in the same disposition: for they shall see nothing in me to jus-

⁴ Theophanes was probably a freedman of Pompeius, and a Greek.

⁵ The business of the provincial Quæstor principally regarded the supplies of the army.

tify their delinquency. But if this be found insufficient, I shall adopt severer measures: for hitherto I have been gentle and lenient; and, as I hope, not without some effect. But, as some say, I have calculated upon this forbearance only for one year: take care then that I do not lose my character by any prolongation of my government. I now come back to what you desire of me. With regard to the Prefects, there shall be an exemption of service for any you⁶ please; only name them: I shall not hesitate, as I did in the case of Apuleius. I love Xenon as much as you do, and am confident that he is sensible of it. I have put you in the highest favor with Patron, and the rest of these effeminate philosophers;⁷ and have done no more than you deserved; for he told me that you had thrice written to him, to assure him that in consequence of his letter I would take care of that business;⁸ which he

⁶ It does not appear that the governors of provinces were limited in their appointment of Prefects. Cicero only excluded such as carried on any traffic. See above, Letter VII. The translation here offered is new, but is most consonant to the words of the original thus pointed, in præfectis, excusatio iis quos voles: deferto.

⁷ The Epicureans.

⁸ Memmius had been obliged to quit Rome, and had taken up his residence at Athens, where he got from the council of the Arcopagus a grant to build upon the site of a school of Epicurus. This the supporters of that philosophy were anxious to prevent.

took very kindly. But upon Patron's applying to me, to request that your Areopagus would cancel the decree they had made in the prætorship of Polycharmus, it appeared both to Xeno, and afterwards to Patron himself, more proper that I should write to Memmius, who had gone to Mitylene the very day before I arrived at Athens, in order that he might signify to his friends his consent to the measure. For Xeno was persuaded that the Areopagus would never grant it against the will of Memmius. But Memmius had already given up all thoughts of building: he was however displeased with Patron; which made me write particularly to him a letter, of which I send you a copy. I wish you to comfort Pilia for my sake:⁹ for I will tell you; you need not mention it to her; I received a packet, in which was Pilia's letter: I took it, opened it, read it. It was written with great feeling. The letters you received from Brundisium, without any from me, were dispatched at a time when I was not well. For I would not

⁹ It has been doubted to what this alludes: and indeed it is one of those private circumstances which it is impossible to ascertain: but it appears to me most probable that some letter from Pilia to Atticus had fallen by mistake into Cicero's hands; and that it contained some expressions of uneasiness, which Cicero takes this opportunity of requesting her husband to soothe.

have you put off with that servile excuse¹⁰ of business. Take care to let me hear every thing ; but especially take care of your own health.

LETTER XII.

A SEA voyage is a serious thing, even in July. We were five days coming from Athens to Delus. On the 6th of July we proceeded from the Piræus¹ to Zoster with a troublesome wind, which detained us there the next day. On the 8th we had a pleasant passage to Ceo. From thence we went to Gyarus with a strong gale, but not unfavorable. We completed our course to Scyrus, and thence to Delus, to both of them quicker than we wished. You are acquainted with the undecked vessels of the Rhodians : there is nothing less calculated to resist the waves. I had therefore determined not to hurry, nor to stir from Delus till the indications from the heights should be favorable. As soon as I heard of Messalla, I immediately wrote to you from Gyarus ; and I also communicated my opinion to Hortensius,² with whom

¹⁰ The meaning of the original is uncertain. I have supposed it to be " an excuse of being busy ;" which he represents as an excuse fit for a slave, who was forced to work.

¹ The port of Athens.

² Messalla was related to Hortensius. He had been

I fully sympathised. But I am expecting a letter from you upon the whole state of the Republic, and that a statesmanlike letter, since you are reading over my treatise on Government with my friend Thallumetus;² so that I may learn not only what is doing (for that even your grave client Helenius could tell), but what will be done hereafter. By the time you read this, the Consuls will be appointed. You will be able to perceive with some certainty every thing relating to Cæsar, to Pompeius, to the trials themselves. But, I beseech you, since you remain in Rome, clear off my business. What I forgot to answer you about the brick-work,⁴ I request you to get done. Respecting the water, if any thing can be done, I beg you to manage it with your usual kindness. I do from my own sense of the subject, as well as from your representation, consider it of real importance: therefore accomplish something. If Philippus has asked you to do any thing in his affair, I should be glad if you would gratify him. I will write more to you when I am settled; I am now completely in the middle of the sea.

charged with bribery at his election to the consulship. See Book iv. Letter xvi.

³ Probably one of Atticus's freedmen.

⁴ This, and what follows about the water, probably refers to his house in Rome.

LETTER XIII.

I ARRIVED at Ephesus the 22d of July, the five hundred and sixtieth day after the battle of Bovilla.¹ The voyage was performed without danger, and without sickness; but slowly, owing to the weakness of the undecked Rhodian vessels. Of the concourse of deputations, and individuals, and the incredible multitude which came to greet me at Samos, and in an astonishing manner at Ephesus, I imagine you have already heard; or may say, “how does it concern me.”² However, both the farmers of the revenue addressed me with as much zeal as if I had come with a command; and the Greeks, as if I had been an Ephesian Prætor.³ From which I know you will understand that my boasting of so many years is now brought to

¹ This was the place where Clodius was killed in his affray with Milo. Cicero uses the phrase jestingly, as if its importance constituted a new epoch.

² It is probable this may have been an expression familiar to Atticus.

³ The farmers of the revenue, and the proprietors of the land, were likely to be often at variance; the former supporting themselves by the authority of the Roman governor, the latter by that of their own magistrates, whom they therefore respectively courted.

the test.⁴ But, as I hope, I shall put in practice the lessons I have learned from you; and shall be able to satisfy all parties; and the more easily, because in my province the compositions⁵ have already been made. But enough of this; especially as Cæstius informed me, while I was at dinner, that he should set out this very night. I have attended to your little concerns⁶ at Ephesus; and to Thermus, (who previously to my arrival had generously promised his assistance to all your friends,) yet I have presented Philogenes and Seius, and have recommended Xeno of Apollonidis. He promised to do every thing you wished. I have besides explained to Philogenes the account of what I borrowed⁷ from you. So much for this also. I return to the affairs of the city. I entreat you by your fortunes, since you remain in Rome, first of all to support and secure this, that my government may be but for the year, that there be even no intercalation.⁸ In the next place, finish my commissions; especially if any thing can be done in that

⁴ By his boasting, he probably means his philosophical prudence.

⁵ These were the contracts entered into annually between the farmers of the revenue and the proprietors.

⁶ This may have been borrowed from Atticus's own expression.

⁷ See Letter xv.

⁸ See Letter ix.

domestic⁹ business, in which you know my difficulty: then have a regard to Cæsar,¹⁰ whose friendship I have solicited at your commendation; nor do I regret it. And if you know how much it concerns me to be informed and regardful of what is doing in the Republic, (doing? nay, rather what is hereafter to take place) write every thing to me, and exactly; particularly whether the state of the judgments that are either made, or to be made, is attended with difficulty. About the water,¹¹ as you think it worth while. If Philippus should want any thing, I shall be obliged to you to attend to it.¹²

LETTER XIV.

TILL I am settled in some place, you must not expect me to send you either long letters, or always in my own hand; but when I have time, I will do both. I am now pursuing my journey on a hot and dusty road. I wrote to you yesterday from Ephesus; this I send from

⁹ This probably alludes to the marriage of his daughter.
See Letter iv.

¹⁰ Letter v.

¹¹ See above, Letter xii.

¹² See Letter xii. I conceive this, and the former clause, to make two distinct sentences.

Tralles. I expect to be in my province the 1st of August. From that day, if you love me, endeavour to secure the termination of my government after one year. In the mean time I have received intelligence such as I could wish; first, that the Parthians are quiet; then, that the contracts with the farmers of the revenue are completed; lastly, that the sedition of the soldiers has been allayed by Appius, and their pay delivered to them up to the middle of July. I am wonderfully well received in Asia. My arrival has occasioned no expense to any, even the lowest person. I hope all my attendants will have regard to my reputation. I have great apprehensions; but hope for the best. All my people have now joined me, except your friend Tullius. I purpose going directly to the army, to appropriate the remaining summer months to military business; the winter months to civil concerns. I trust that, if you know me to be no less anxious than yourself about the Republic, you will send me word of every thing that happens, or will happen. You cannot gratify me more; unless by the execution of what I begged you to do, especially that inmost concern,¹ which I have so much at heart. I write in haste, and in dust. My future letters shall be more particular.

¹ Probably alluding to the marriage of his daughter.

LETTER XV.

I CAME to Laodicea the 31st of July. From this day you will begin the reckoning of my year. Nothing could be more desired, nothing more affectionately entertained, than my arrival. But it is not to be believed how sick I am of this business. The activity of my mind, with which you are so well acquainted, has not a sufficient field to exert itself; and the notable effect of my industry is lost. Is it for me to administer justice at Laodicea, and A. Plotius at Rome? And while our friend is commanding so large an army, for me to have the name only of two meager legions? In short, I want not these things; I want the splendor, the forum, the city, my own home, and you. But I will bear it as I can, provided it be but for one year. If my government is prolonged, it is all over with me: but it may very easily be prevented, if only you remain at Rome. You ask what I do here. I shall continue to live, as I do, at a great expense. I am wonderfully pleased with the plan I have adopted. I observe a strict self-denial,¹ agreeably to your

¹ By self-denial is to be understood Cicero's abstinence from all extortion, such as was made a great source of revenue to the provincial governors.

advice ; so that I doubt whether it will not be necessary to raise money in order to pay off what I have borrowed of you. I do not exasperate the wounds of Appius ;² but they appear, and cannot be concealed. I write this on the 3d of August, on my way from Laodicea to the camp in Lycaonia. Thence I mean to proceed to mount Taurus, that I may contend in arms with Mæragenes, and, if I can, may decide the affair of your slave.³ The paniers, as they say, have been put on the wrong beast.⁴ It is confessedly a burden that does not belong to me : but I will bear it ; only, as you love me, let it not exceed the year. Mind to be present in time, that you may solicit the whole Senate. I am exceedingly anxious, because it is now a long while that I have remained in ignorance of all that is doing. Therefore, as I have before said to you, make me acquainted, besides other things, with the State itself. Should I write more by a tardy messenger ? but I deliver this to a familiar and friendly man, C. Andronicus of Puteoli. You will have frequent opportunities of sending to me by the

² Appius had preceded Cicero in the government of Cilicia ; the wounds he had inflicted were those of extortion.

³ Mæragenes was the captain of a lawless band, to whom a slave of Atticus's had run away.

⁴ A proverbial expression, signifying something unsuitable.

messengers of the public renters, through the collectors of the revenue and customs within my district.

LETTER XVI.

WHILE I am on my journey, and actually on the road, the messengers of the public renters are setting out : yet I have thought it right to steal a little time, that you may not think me regardless of your injunction. Accordingly I have stopt in the road to send you shortly this information, which should have occupied a larger space. My arrival, which was eagerly expected in this miserable and utterly ruined province, took place the last day of July. During three days that I staid at Laodicea, three at Apamea, and three at Synnade, I heard of nothing but the inability of the people to pay the head money imposed upon them ; the universal sale of goods ; the groans and lamentations of the cities ; the fatal traces, not of a man, but of some savage beast. In short, I am sick of every thing, even of my life. The wretched cities however find some relief in being free from any expence either on my account, or that of my lieutenants, quæstors, or any body else. For I decline to accept not only forage, and what is allowed by the Julian

law, but even my fire wood; nor does any body receive a single thing besides four beds, and a roof to cover them; in many places not so much as that, for we more commonly remain under a tent. Hence we have a surprising concourse from the country, from the villages, and from every house. Indeed they revive again at my approach, at the justice, the moderation, the clemency of your Cicero; so that he has exceeded the expectations of all people. Appius,¹ upon hearing that I was coming, went into the remotest part of the province, as far as Tarsus, where he holds a session. I hear nothing of the Parthians; but some, who are lately arrived, relate that our cavalry have been defeated by the barbarians.² Bibulus does not even yet think of going into his province:³ which people attribute to this; that he wishes to remain there as late as he can. I am hastening to join the army, which is two days distant.

¹ Appius was Cicero's predecessor in the province of Cilicia.

² This is spoken, in the Greek manner, of people unacquainted with the Roman customs and discipline.

³ Syria.

LETTER XVII.

I HAVE received from Rome a packet of letters without one from you ; which, if only you were there, and were well, I attribute to the fault of Philotimus, not to you. I dictate this sitting in my carriage, on my way to the camp, from which I am distant two days' journey. In a few days I shall have sure persons to whom I can deliver my letters ; therefore I reserve myself for that. However, though I would rather you should hear it from others, I conduct myself in the province with such moderation, that not a penny is spent upon any of my people. This is accomplished also by the attention of the lieutenants, and Tribunes, and Prefects : for they are all zealous for my honor. Our friend Lepta is admirable.¹ But I must be quick. I will tell you every thing fully in a few days. The younger Deiotarus, who has received from the Senate the title of King, has taken our Ciceros² with him into his kingdom. While I am in my summer quarters, I considered it to be the best place for the boys. Sestius has informed me of the conversation he had with

¹ He was what may be called the chief engineer, and had the direction of the workmen—*præfectus fabrum*. Ep. Fam. 3, 7.

² The sons of Marcus and of Quintus Cicero.

you on the subject of my domestic and greatest concern,³ and what was your opinion. I beseech you, pay every attention to that business ; and let me know what can be done, and what you think. Sestius likewise said that Hortensius had mentioned something about extending the term of my government. He had distinctly promised me in Cumanum, that he would support my release at the end of twelve months. If you have any regard for me, fortify this post.⁴ It cannot be told, how unwillingly I am kept away from you. Besides, I expect that this honor, which I derive from my moderation, will be the more distinguished, if I soon retire ; as it happened to Scævola, who presided in Asia only nine months. Appius, when he understood that I was approaching, removed from Laodicea as far as Tarsus. There he holds a session, while I am in the province : but I shall not quarrel with him for this wrong : for I have enough upon my hands in healing the wounds which have been inflicted on the province ; which I endeavour to do with the least censure upon him. But I wish you would tell our friend Brutus, that Appius has not behaved handsomely in going away as far as he could upon my approach.

³ Respecting the marriage of his daughter.

⁴ It may be supposed that Cicero uses this metaphor in consideration of his military character.

LETTER XVIII.

How I wish you were in Rome, if it happens that you are not there ; for I have no certain information, excepting that I have received two letters from you dated the 19th of July, in which it was mentioned that you were going into Epirus about the beginning of August. But whether you are in Rome, or in Epirus, the Parthians have passed the Euphrates under the conduct of Pacorus, son of Orodes, King of the Parthians, with almost all his forces. There is yet no news of Bibulus's arrival in Syria. Cassius is in the city of Antioch with his whole army. I am with my army at Cybistra in Cappadocia, at the foot of Mount Taurus. The enemy is in the Cyrrhastica, which is the part of Syria nearest to my province. I have written to the Senate an account of this state of affairs. If you are at Rome, you will see if you think my letter should be delivered ; and many things, nay, every thing, which require your kind attention ; the sum of which is, that between the slaying and the offering,¹ as they

¹ The meaning seems to be, that nothing may occur, at some unseasonable moment, to frustrate my designs, and prevent my hopes, of quitting the province at the expiration of the year.

say, no additional time, or burden may be laid upon me. For in this weak state of the army, and deficiency of allies, at least such as can be depended upon, my best security is the winter. If that season arrives without the enemy's having passed into my province, the only thing I fear is that the Senate, under the apprehension of domestic disturbances, may be unwilling to let Pompeius go away. But if they send somebody else in the spring, I do not care, provided no addition be made to my time. So much then, if you are in Rome. But if you are gone, or indeed if you remain there, this is the state of my affairs: I have no distrust; and following, as I believe, prudent counsels; and possessing, I hope, a good body of men; I feel to be in a safe position, abounding in corn, almost looking down upon Cilicia, and convenient for moving. My army is small; but, I trust, unanimous in affection towards me; and likely to be doubled by the arrival of Deiotarus with all his forces. I have much more faithful allies, than any body else has had, being struck with my kindness and forbearance. I am making a levy of Roman citizens, and transporting corn from the fields into places of safety. If it is necessary, we shall defend ourselves by arms; if not, by the nature of the country. Therefore be of good courage; for I see you, and am as sensible of

your friendly sympathy, as if you were actually present. But I beg of you, should the consideration of my case be put off till the first of January, that you would, if possible, be in Rome at that time. I shall feel quite secure, if you are there. The Consuls are my friends, and the Tribune of the people, Furnius; still I have need of your assiduity, prudence, and influence. It is a most important time: but I am ashamed of using many words with you. Our young Ciceros are with Deiotarus; but, if necessary, they shall be removed to Rhodes. If you are in Rome, write to me with your usual exactness; if in Epirus, yet send me one of your messengers, that both you may know what I am doing, and I what you do, and mean to do. I attend to the concerns of your friend Brutus in a manner that he would not do for himself. But I now bring forth my ward,² without defending him; for it is a slow and fruitless business. Yet I will endeavour to give satisfaction, even to you, which is harder than to Brutus himself; but I will assuredly satisfy both.

² This ward was Ariobarzanes, a king of Cappadocia, whose person and government the Senate had recommended to the care of Cicero. He had been driven out of his kingdom by Mithridates, and his affairs were in great disorder. Cicero, while he offered to support him in his kingdom, did not undertake to defend him against the claims of his creditors, one of whom appears to have been Brutus.

LETTER XIX.

I HAD just sealed the letter, which I imagine you have read, written with my own hand, and containing an account of every thing, when Appian's messenger hastily delivered to me your letter of the 21st of September, the forty-seventh day from his leaving Rome. Ah, what a distance ! By that I make no doubt you waited for Pompeius's return from Ariminum, and are now gone to Epirus ; and I fear you will be not less, but, as you say, more anxious in Epirus, than I am here. I have written to Philotimus about the Atellian debt, desiring him not to call upon Messalla. I am pleased that the reputation of my progress should have reached you ; and I shall be still more pleased if you hear the rest. I am glad you take such delight in the daughter whom you have left in Rome ; and her, whom I have never seen, yet I love, and am sure she must be amiable. Farewell again and again, Patron, and your fellow disciples.¹ I am glad you are pleased with what I have effected in the army respecting the Tarentine light cavalry.² When

¹ That is, farewell to the Epicureans, if you so far forget their love of indifference as to become fond of your children. See Book VII. Letter II.

² There is reason to believe that the Tarentines were a

you say that you are not sorry he³ should have met with a repulse, who contended with your nephew's uncle;⁴ it is a mark of great affection; and by it you have put me in mind that I ought to rejoice also; for it had not occurred to me. "I cannot believe that;" you say. As you please; but yet I rejoice; for being indignant, you know, is very different from being envious.⁵

species of light cavalry. I have thought it right therefore to insert this illustration, without which it must be unintelligible to an English reader.

³ This is supposed to relate to Hirrus, who had formerly opposed Cicero for the Augurship, and had lately been rejected in his canvass for the office of *Ædile* in opposition to *Cælius*. The obscurity of this, as of many other passages, arises entirely from our ignorance of Atticus's letter, to which it alludes.

⁴ A humorous periphrasis for Cicero himself, perhaps taken from Atticus's own expression. It occurs again, Book VI. Letter VIII. in relation to the same event.

⁵ The expression, which in the original is in Greek, seems to be taken from Aristotle. His meaning is, that he may innocently rejoice through indignation against an unworthy candidate, though it would be wrong to rejoice through envy at another's want of success.

LETTER XX.

ON the morning of the Saturnalia (December 17) the Pindenissians surrendered themselves to me, the forty-seventh day after I had begun to besiege them. "Who, the plague, are these Pindenissians? who are they? you will say; I never heard the name." What can I do? Could I convert Cilicia into Ætolia, or Macedonia? You must know this however, that with such an army as I have here, no very great affairs could have been achieved. What has been done, I will shortly explain to you; for so, in your last letter, you give me leave to do. You know of my arrival at Ephesus, for you congratulated me upon that day's celebrity, than which nothing ever pleased me more. From thence I was honorably received in all the towns where I went, and arrived at Laodicea the last day of July. There I staid two days in great reputation; and by liberal expressions eradicated all former injuries. I did the same at Apamea, where I staid five days; at Synnade, where I was three days; at Philomelum five days; and ten days at Iconium. My jurisdiction was exercised with the greatest equity, the greatest lenity, and the greatest dignity. Thence I came into the

camp the 26th of August, and on the 30th I reviewed the army near Iconium: From this station, having received pressing messages about the Parthians, I proceeded into Cilicia through a part of Cappadocia which borders on the province, with the design of making the Armenian Artavasdes, and the Parthians themselves, conceive that they were excluded from Cappadocia. After being encamped five days at Cybistra in Cappadocia, I was informed that the Parthians were at a long distance from that passage of Cappadocia, and were rather threatening Cilicia. Therefore I immediately made my way into Cilicia through the passes of Mount Taurus. I came to Tarsus the 5th of October: thence I went to Mount Amanus, which divides Syria from Cilicia by the opposite course of the waters.¹ These mountains were full of eternal enemies. Here, on the 13th of October, we killed a great number of them; and Pontinus having advanced by night, and myself the next morning, we took and burnt the forts, which were strongly guarded. I was saluted Imperator.² I

¹ That is, at the part of the mountains whence the streams descend in opposite directions.

² This title, as is well known, used to be conferred by the acclamation of the soldiers upon any signal success: the fasces were at the same time crowned with laurel. The general retained the title till he returned to Rome.

occupied for a few days the very same position, at Issus, which in his expedition against Darius had been held by Alexander, not a little better general, than either you, or me. There I remained five days ; and having spoiled and laid waste the Amanus, I departed. For you know, that as there are certain things called panics, so there are also the empty rumours of war. The rumour of our approach both encouraged Cassius, who was shut up in Antioch, and alarmed the Parthians ; so that Cassius pursued them with advantage as they retreated from the city. In this retreat Osaces, one of the Parthian generals of great authority, received a wound, of which he died a few days after. My name was respected in Syria. In the mean time Bibulus arrived. I imagine he wanted to be equal with me in this empty title. He began to seek for laurels in the Amanus, as if they were strewed upon a cake.³ But he lost the whole of his first cohort, and the centurion of the first division, a man distinguished in his situation, Asinius Dento, and the other officers of the cohort ; and Sextus Lucilius, a military Tribune, son to T. Gævius Cæpio, a rich and splendid man. In truth he sustained an ugly blow, both in itself, and in the time when it

³ The word in the original signifies a kind of cake, which was covered with laurel leaves, and from which consequently they were easily gathered.

happened. I invested Pindenissus with a ditch and rampart: it was a strong place, belonging to the free Cilicians, and had time out of mind been in arms against us. The people were a fierce and barbarous race, prepared with all the means of defence. We accomplished the business by a large mound, fascines, a lofty tower, great quantity of machines,⁴ a numerous body of archers, great fatigue and equipage, and many wounds received, but the army safe. The Saturnalia were truly joyous. I gave up the spoil, excepting the horses, to the soldiers. The slaves were sold on the third day of the Saturnalia. While I write this in the tribunal,⁵ the sum amounts to 12,000 Sestertia (£96,000.) I shall leave the command of the army to my brother Quintus, to be taken from hence into winter quarters in a part of the country that is still pacified; and am going myself to Laodicea. So much for this. But let me revert to what I have omitted. When you particularly advise me; and, which is more than all, in what you labour with so much earnestness; that I should satisfy even this Ligurian scoffer;⁶ may I die,

⁴ These were various instruments for offence, such as continued in use till the introduction of fire arms.

⁵ A raised platform, on which the persons in authority were seated.

⁶ This expression is probably borrowed from a letter of Atticus. It is supposed to mean Cato; but the reason of the appellation is not known.

if any thing could be said more elegantly. But I do not call this forbearance: for that seems to imply a virtue opposed to pleasure; while in my life I never felt so great a pleasure, as I do from this integrity of conduct. Nor is it the reputation (which is very great), but the thing itself, that delights me. In short, such has been its value, I did not know myself; nor was I aware what I could do in this kind. I am justly proud. Nothing can be more honorable. In the mean time it is something splendid, that Ariobarzanes should live, and reign, by my assistance. I have preserved the king; and the kingdom, as it were in passing, by prudence, and authority, and making myself inaccessible to his enemies, not merely shut against their presents. At the same time not the smallest thing has been received from Cappadocia; and I even hope that during the whole year of my government not a farthing of expense will be incurred in the province. Brutus, who was desponding,⁷ I have cheered as much as I could. I love him no less than thou; I had almost said, than thee. This is all I had to tell you. I am now preparing to send a public account to Rome, which will be more full, than if I had sent from the Amanus. But am I to understand that you will not be in Rome? Every thing depends upon the first of

⁷ About the recovery of his money.

March.⁸ For I am apprehensive that when the business of the province is taken into consideration, if any resistance is made on the part of Cæsar,⁹ I may be continued. If you were there to attend to this, I should have no fears. I come now to the affairs of the city, with which, after a long ignorance, I have at length been made acquainted by your most acceptable letter of the 28th of December. Your freedman Philogenes took great care to send it by a circuitous, and not very safe route. For that, which you say was delivered to Lenius's servant, I had not received.¹⁰ I was pleased with what you say of Cæsar, respecting both the decree of the Senate,¹¹ and your own hopes. If he submits to this, I am safe. That Leius should have scorched himself in this Plætorian conflagration, I am not so much

⁸ When the new Consuls were to bring before the Senate the consideration of the provinces.

⁹ If Cæsar's friends resist the appointment of any body to succeed him in Gaul; in that case the Senate may deem it necessary to keep Pompeius at home, and to renew my government of Cilicia. For it was expected that Pompeius might be sent to put an end to the Parthian war. See Letter xviii.

¹⁰ It must be supposed that Philogenes had previously pointed out the same route to this slave of Lenius.

¹¹ The Senate had decreed to entertain the question of sending a successor to Cæsar.

concerned.¹² I want to know why Lueceius should have been so vehement about Q. Cassius; and what has been done. As soon as I get to Laodicea, I am desired to present your nephew Quintus with his robe¹³ of manhood. I shall endeavour carefully to regulate his conduct. He, from whom I have derived such great assistance,¹⁴ was to come to me at Laodicea, as he said, with the young Ciceros. I am expecting a letter from Epirus, to bring me an account not only of your occupations, but also of your retirement. Nianor is in office, and liberally treated by me. I think of sending him to Rome with the public dispatches, both for their more careful conveyance, and at the same time that he may bring me back certain intelligence of you, and from you. I am obliged to Alexis¹⁵ for his repeated salutations: but why does he not by his own letters follow the example of my Alexis¹⁶ to you? I

*does his duty
towards me*

¹² This is supposed to mean not a real fire, but a sentence of condemnation against Plætorius, in which Leius was involved.

¹³ Young men at the age of seventeen used to change the bordered robe of youth for the plain one of manhood.

¹⁴ Deiotarus. This periphrasis is probably taken from Atticus's letter.

¹⁵ The freedman and amanuensis of Atticus.

¹⁶ Tiro, who held the same situation with Cicero.

am looking out for a horn¹⁷ for Phemius. But it is time to stop. Take care of yourself, and let me know when you think of returning to Rome. Again and again, farewell. When I was at Ephesus, I carefully recommended your affairs, and your friends, to Thermus ; and I now do the same by letter ; and I have understood that he is of himself very desirous of serving you. I should be glad if you would use your influence about Pammenus's house, as I before mentioned to you ; that what the boy has through your and my assistance, may not by any means be disturbed. I consider this as a point of honor to both of us, and it will besides be particularly acceptable to me.

¹⁷ The exact meaning of this is not known. It is obvious, that all allusions to a former letter, which has not reached us, must necessarily be obscure. The subject is mentioned again in the next Letter, and in the first Letter of the sixth Book ; from the latter of which places it appears, that the horn was for a musical instrument ; and it has been with good reason conjectured, that the person for whom it was designed might have been a freedman of Atticus, who had cultivated a taste for music, and had received the name of Phemius, from a musician mentioned in the Odyssey, i. 154. That Atticus was himself fond of music may be conjectured from Book iv. Letter xvi. *Ex quibus (Britannicis mancipiis) nullos puto te literis aut musicis eruditos expectare.*

LETTER XXI.

I WAS very glad to hear that you had arrived safe in Epirus, and had, as you say, an agreeable passage. I am rather concerned that you will not be in Rome at a period so important to me; but I comfort myself with thinking that you will not like to winter there, and unnecessarily to be out of the way.¹ Cassius, the brother of your friend Q. Cassius, had sent the letter, of which you ask me the meaning, in a more modest style than that which he sent afterwards, where he pretends to have put an end to the Parthian war. They had indeed retreated from Antioch before the arrival of Bibulus; but not in consequence of any success on our part. They are now in winter quarters in the Cyrrhestica, and threaten us with a great war. For the son of Orodes, the Parthian king, is in our province; and Deiotarus, whose son is engaged to the daughter of Artavasdes,² from whom it might be known, has no doubt but the king himself will pass the Euphrates with all his forces in the beginning of summer. And the very day that Cassius's

¹ Expecting that for these reasons Atticus might probably change his intentions.

² Artavasdes was King of Armenia.

victorious letter was read in the Senate, which was the 7th of October, mine brought an account of some disturbance. Our friend Axius says that mine carried with it great authority, while no credit was given to the other. Bibulus's had not then been received. I am confident it must have been full of alarm. I am afraid of this consequence from it; that whilst Pompeius is kept at home under the apprehension of seditious commotions, and Cæsar is denied any honor from the Senate; while this knot is disentangling, the Senate may think I ought not to leave my government before a successor arrives; and that in such a disturbed state of affairs, it is not enough to have single lieutenants preside over such large provinces. Hence I dread some prolongation of my time, which not even the intercession of a Tribune can stop; and the more so, because of your absence, who by your opinion, influence, and zeal, might obviate many difficulties. But you will say that I am raising troubles out of my own brain. I cannot help it; and wish it were so. But I am full of fears: though I admired the conclusion of the letter you sent from Buthrotum before you had recovered from your sea sickness, in which you say—"As far as I see, and hope, you will meet with no impediment to your departure." I should have liked it better, "as I see," without

that "hope." I received another, by a very quick passage, at Iconium, through the messengers of the public renters, dated the day of Lentulus's triumph. In this you repeat the same mixture of bitter and sweet, telling me first that I shall have no hindrance; then adding, if it should be otherwise, that you will come to me. Your hesitations sting me. You see by this what letters I have received. For that which you say you gave to Camula, the slave of the centurion Hermon, has never reached me. You repeatedly told me that you had sent one by Lenius's servant. This, which was dated the 22d of September, Lenius at length delivered to me at Laodicea, upon my arrival there the 11th of February. Your recommendations I acknowledged to Lenius immediately in words, and shall do so in deed as long as I stay. The only new subject in this letter related to the Cybiratian panthers.³ I am much obliged to you for answering M. Octavius, that you did not believe I meant to send any. In future, what you do not know to be certain, you may certainly deny. For, my own resolution being inflamed by your opinion, I have exceeded every body, as you will find, in forbearance, and also in justice, easiness of

³ It had been usual for the governors of provinces to demand wild beasts to be sent up for the shows of their friends in Rome.

access, and clemency. There is not any thing excites so much surprise, as that no farthing of expense should have been incurred since I obtained the province, either for the State, or for any of my people, excepting L. Tullius the lieutenant. He, who is otherwise abstemious, yet on his journey availed himself of the Julian law. It was only once in the day; not, as others had done, in all the villages he passed through; besides him nobody received any thing even once: this obliges me to except him, when I assert that no farthing of expense was incurred. Besides him nobody received any thing. For this pollution⁴ I am indebted to Q. Titinius. The campaign being ended, I gave the command of the winter quarters, and of Cilicia, to my brother Quintus. I sent into Cyprus Q. Volusius, the son-in-law of your friend Tiberius, a steady man, and besides wonderfully abstemious, to remain there a few days, lest the few Roman citizens, who carry on business in those parts, should think that justice was denied them; for it is illegal to

⁴ In the original it is *sordes*, "filth:" which gives a propriety to St. Paul's expressions, 1 Cor. iv. 13, where he applies to the Apostles the terms "filth" and "offscouring;" for they must be supposed to have been familiar to the language of the Romans, at least at that time, however strange to our own. It is evident that Cicero here means Tullius, and that he so designates him on account of his misconduct.

summon the Cypriots out of the island. I went myself on the fifth of January from Tarsus into Asia ;⁵ I cannot tell you with what admiration of the cities of Cilicia, and above all of the Tarsians. And when I had passed the range of the Taurus, a prodigious expectation was raised in the districts of Asia under my jurisdiction, which in six months of my government had received no letter⁶ from me, and had seen no guest.⁷ For, before me, that time had always been employed in a species of traffick, by which the opulent cities gave great sums of money to be excused having soldiers quartered upon them in the winter. The Cypriots gave as much as 200 Attic talents (nearly £10,000.); from which island (I speak not hyperbolically, but truly) no money whatever will be expended under my government. In return for these benefits, at which they express their astonishment, I do not permit them to decree any honors to me, except in words: I forbid all statues, temples, chariots; nor am I burdensome to the cities in any other way—but perhaps I am to you, while I proclaim all this about myself. Bear with me, however, if you love me; for it is you who desired me to

⁵ Certain districts of the country, which lay in the province of Asia, but were attached to Cicero's government.

⁶ Letters demanding supplies.

⁷ No person who was to live upon them.

to it. In short I have made my progress through Asia in such a manner, that even famine, than which nothing is more wretched, and which was felt at this time in my part of Asia, owing to the entire failure of the crops, might seem a thing to be wished for by me.⁸ Wherever I have been, I have employed no force, no legal process, no insult; but have by authority, and exhortation, prevailed upon those Greeks,⁹ and Roman citizens, who had corn in store, to promise a large supply to the people. February the 13th, on which day I am writing, I have appointed to hold a session at Laodicea for the affairs of Cybira; the 15th of March for those of Apamea; and at the same time I mean to hold one for Synnade, Pamphylia, when I shall look out for a horn for Phemius¹⁰ Lycæonia,¹¹ and Isauria. The middle of May I shall return into Cilicia, to spend there the month of June, I hope unmolested by the Parthians. If things go as I wish, I shall employ myself in passing again through the province on my return: for I arrived within the province

⁸ As it proved an additional subject of glory.

⁹ By Greeks he means the natives; so afterwards in speaking of the Cypriots.

¹⁰ This is mentioned likewise in the preceding Letter.

¹¹ I adopt M. Mongault's conjecture that Aonium, as it stands in our copies, ought to be Lycaonium, that being the only one, not otherwise mentioned, of the six Asiatic districts attached to Cicero's government.

at Laodicea, in the consulship of Sulpicius and Marcellus, the 31st of July. I must set out on my departure the 29th of July, having first obtained my brother Quintus's consent to his being left in command; which will be very much against both his inclination and mine; but it cannot with propriety be avoided; especially as I cannot even now detain that excellent man Pontinius: for Posthumius, perhaps also Posthumia, snatches him away to Rome. You have here my plans. Now hear what relates to Brutus. Brutus is well acquainted with certain creditors of the Salaminians of Crete, M. Scaptius, and P. Matinius, whom he has particularly recommended to me. Matinius I do not know. Scaptius came to me in the camp. I promised that I would take care, for Brutus's sake, that the Salaminians should pay him the money that was owing to him. He thank'd me; and at the same time asked to be made a Prefect. I said I made it a rule never to appoint any body engaged in traffick; as I had before told you. When Cn. Pompeius asked me, I gave to him the same answer; likewise to Torquatus, on his application for M. Lenius, your friend; and to several others. If he wished to be made a Prefect for the sake of his bond, I would take care he should recover it. He thanked me, and took his leave. Appius had formerly given a few troops

of horse to this Scaptius, for the sake of repressing the Salaminians; and had made him a Prefect. But he harassed the people of Salamis; and I ordered the horse to remove from Cyprus; which Scaptius took very ill. However, that I might keep my promise to him, when the Salaminians came to me at Tarsus, and Scaptius with them, I ordered them to pay the money. They said a great deal about the bond, and about the ill usage they had received from Scaptius. I said I could not listen to it. I exhorted; I begged, in return for the kindness I had shewn towards their city, that they would conclude the business: at last I said I should compel them. Upon this they not only did not refuse, but they added, that they would pay then out of me. For as I had not accepted what they had been used to give to their governors, they in some measure gave it from my revenue: indeed the amount of Scaptius's debt was less than the Prætorian tribute. I commended them. Right, says Scaptius; but let us reckon up the amount. In the mean time, while I had declared in my opening proclamation, composed from different models,¹² that I should maintain the interest of one per cent per month, together with what accrued at the end of the year; he by the terms of his bond demanded four per cent. What do you

¹² See Letter iv. of this Book.

mean, said I; can I act contrary to my proclamation? He then produced a decree of the Senate in the consulship of Lentulus and Philippus, that whoever obtained the province of Cilicia, should pronounce judgment according to that bond. I was at first struck with horror; for it would have been the ruin of the city. But I find two decrees of the Senate in the same year respecting this bond. The Salaminians, when they were desirous of raising money at Rome, were prevented by the Gabinian law. Upon which these friends of Brutus, relying upon his influence, offered to advance the money at four per cent. per month, if it could be authorized by a decree of the Senate. Through the favor of Brutus, a decree was passed, "that no detriment should arise to the Salaminians, nor to those who furnished the money." They accordingly paid the money. But it afterwards occurred to them, that the decree would be of no use to them, since the Gabinian law prohibited the establishing a right upon the terms of a bond. Thereupon another decree of the Senate was passed, "that this bond should have the same validity as others." But to return: while I was explaining this, Seaptius drew me aside, saying that he did not mean to oppose my opinion; but that they believed they owed him 200 talents (about £10,000.), and this sum he was willing to

accept: that they really owed him something less; but he wished me to bring them to this agreement. Very well, said I. So I called them to me, after Scaptius had retired, and asked them what they offered, and what was the amount of their debt. They replied, 106 talents (about £5100.). I reported this to Scaptius. The man began to clamour. What is the use of this, said I. Compare your accounts. They sat down, and made their computation, which agreed to a sixpence. They said they were ready to pay it, and pressed him to take it. Here Scaptius again called me aside, and begged that I would leave the matter as it stood. I gave way to his shameless request; and when the Greeks complained, and desired leave to deposit the money in some temple,¹³ I did not grant it. Every body present exclaimed that nothing could be more shameless than Scaptius, who was not satisfied with one per cent. per month with the annual compound interest: some said nothing could be more foolish. But to me he appeared more impudent, than foolish. For thus he either satisfied himself with good security at one per cent.; or took his chance for four per cent. on grounds which were not good. This is the statement of my case; which must be approved

¹³ When the money was deposited in a temple, the interest upon it ceased to accumulate.

by Brutus, or he will no longer deserve our regard. It will assuredly be approved by his uncle;¹⁴ especially as a decree of the Senate was lately passed, I believe after your departure, on the subject of creditors, that one per cent. should constantly be taken without compound interest. What difference this makes, if I rightly know your fingers,¹⁵ you have certainly computed. On this subject, by the by, Luceius complains to me by letter that there is great danger lest these decrees should lead, by the fault of the Senate, to cancelling the old accounts. He refers to the mischief, which C. Julius formerly occasioned by the procrastination of a single day:¹⁶ the State never was in greater jeopardy. But to return to the business: consider my case against Brutus; if this may be called a case, where nothing can with honor be said in opposition; especially as I have left the whole affair open. What I have to say besides, relates to my private concerns. On that secret business¹⁷ I quite agree with you. We should think of Posthumia's

¹⁴ Cato.

¹⁵ On which you may reckon it.

¹⁶ To what particular transaction this alludes is not known: but the State had repeatedly been convulsed by the conduct of usurers.

¹⁷ That this relates to his daughter's marriage may be inferred from Letter IV.

son, since Pontidia's seems to be trifling with us. But I wish you were there. You must not expect to hear any thing from my brother (Quintus at this time of the year: for the Taurus, on account of the snow, is impassable before the month of June. I continue to refresh¹⁸ Thermus by frequent letters, as you desire. King Deiotarus protests that P. Valerius has nothing, and that he supports him. As soon as you know whether there is any intercalation at Rome, I should be glad if you would inform me on what day the mysteries¹⁹ will take place. I am in less expectation of hearing from you, than if you were in Rome; but yet I expect it.

¹⁸ To remind him of your friends.

¹⁹ See the conclusion of the first Letter of the sixth Book.

BOOK VI.

LETTER I.

I RECEIVED your letter at Laodicea on the fifth day before the festival of the Terminalia,¹ and read it with the greatest pleasure; for it was full of affection, of kindness, of attention, and diligence. To this therefore I will reply, as you desire; and shall not follow my own arrangement, but the order which you have adopted. You say that you have very recently got my letter from Cybistra, dated the 22d of September; and you wish to know what letters of yours I have received. Almost all that you mention, except those which you say you sent by Lentulus's servant from Equotutum and Brundisium. So that your pains have not been thrown away, as you apprehend; but have

¹ The Roman custom of dating by the number of days previous to any festival, is well known. In this instance the fifth day before the Terminalia must be about the middle of February.

been admirably laid out ; provided it was your purpose to gratify me : for nothing gives me greater pleasure. I am particularly glad that you approve of my reserve towards Appius, and my freedom towards Brutus. I had thought it might have been otherwise. For Appius had written to me two or three letters on his journey, complaining that I had rescinded some of his regulations. As if, when a patient changes his physician, he that was first in attendance should quarrel with his successor for deviating from the treatment which he had adopted. Just so Appius : having treated his province by depletion, having let it bleed, and used every sort of evacuation, and delivered it up to me quite exhausted, now does not like to see it recruited under my care ; but sometimes finds fault, while at other times he returns thanks ; for I have avoided any personal reflexion upon him. The dissimilarity alone of my conduct offends him. What indeed can be so dissimilar, as that the province, under his government, should have been drained with expenses and losses ; and that from the time I have held it, there should have been no charge of a single penny, either privately, or publicly ? to say nothing of his prefects, his attendants, and lieutenants ; his plunderings also, his licentiousness, and insults : whereas now there is no private house managed with such prudence, such regu-

larity, such moderation, as the whole of my province. This some friends of Appius absurdly misrepresent, as if I was studious of applause at his expense; and did my duty not for the sake of my own reputation, but of his discredit. But if Appius, agreeably to Brutus's letter which I have sent you, expresses his thanks to me, I do not trouble myself about it: nevertheless, on the very day that I am writing before it is light, I think of abolishing many of his unjust acts and regulations. I come now to Brutus, whose interests I have embraced with the greatest warmth, at your desire; and for whom I had begun to entertain affection; but—shall I speak it? I check myself from fear of offending you. Do not however imagine that I have any thing more at heart, than to do as he directs; or that there is any thing, about which I have taken more pains. He gave me a list of instructions; and you had already conferred with me upon the same subjects; all of which I have prosecuted with the greatest diligence. In the first place, I have labored to make Ariobarzanes pay him the talents he promised to give me. As long as the King remained with me, the transaction went on very well: afterwards he began to be pressed hard by a multitude of Pompeius's agents: and Pompeius has alone more authority, than all other people; because, in addition to other

reasons, it is thought he will come to the Parthian war. He is now paid by instalments of 33 Attic talents (£6000.) every month; and that is scarcely sufficient for the monthly interest. But our friend Cnæus² bears this patiently. He is without his principal; and is satisfied with the interest, though it is incomplete. Ariobarzanes pays nobody else, nor can he pay; for his treasury is exhausted, and he has no revenue. By Appius's ordinance, he demands tributes; but these hardly furnish the interest due to Pompeius. The King has two or three very rich friends; but they keep what belongs to them with as much care, as I, or you. On my part however, I do not cease by letter, to entreat, to persuade, to upbraid the King. Deiotarus has likewise told me that he has sent messengers to him about Brutus's business; who brought him back word that the King has nothing. In truth, I believe nothing can be more plundered than that kingdom, nothing more indigent than the King: so that I think either of renouncing my wardship; or, like Scævola in the case of Glabrio, of refusing to pay the interest and charges upon his debts. However to M. Scaptius,³ and L. Gavius, who managed Brutus's business in the

² Pompeius.

³ This M. Scaptius must be a different person from him who is afterwards joined with P. Matinius.

kingdom, I have given the prefectures which I promised Brutus through you, as they did not trade within my province: for you remember my conditions, that he should take what prefectures he pleased, provided it was not for one engaged in traffic. I had therefore given him two besides. But the persons, for whom he had asked, had left the province. Now let me explain to you the affair of the Salaminians,⁴ which I perceive is as new to you, as it was to me: for I never understood from Brutus that the money belonged to him. Indeed I have his own memorandum, in which it is said, "The Salaminians owe money to M. Scaptius, and P. Matinius, my intimate friends." These he recommends to me; and adds, as a sort of spur, that he was himself surety for them to a large amount. I had arranged that the Salaminians should repay it at 12 per cent. for six years, with an accruing interest at the end of each year. But Scaptius demanded 48 per cent. I was afraid, if he had obtained this, that you would yourself cease to love me. For I should have receded from my own proclamation; and should utterly have ruined a city placed under the protection of Cato, and of Brutus himself.⁵ At this very time Scaptius

⁴ The same that is detailed Book v. Letter XXI.

⁵ The island of Cyprus had been taken from the King of Egypt, and reduced to the form of a Roman province under the direction of Cato and Brutus.

suddenly produces a letter of Brutus, saying that the affair was at his own risk ; which he had never mentioned either to me, or you ; and at the same time requesting that I would make Scaptius a Prefect. But I had, through you, made this exception, that it must not be a person engaged in traffic. Or if I did appoint any body, least of all could I appoint him ; because he had been a Prefect under Appius, and having some troops of horse, had actually besieged the Senate in their house of assembly at Salamis, in consequence of which five senators had been starved to death. As soon as I received information of this from certain Cypriots, who were sent to meet me at Ephesus, I wrote the very day I reached the province, to remove the troops out of the island. On this account I imagine Scaptius must have written unfavorably of me to Brutus. This however is my feeling upon the subject : if Brutus should think that I ought to have awarded the 48 per cent., after having maintained the interest of 12 per cent. through the whole province, and declared it in my proclamation, and even had the concurrence of the severest usurers ; or if he should complain of my refusing a prefecture to one engaged in trade, which I have refused to Torquatus, in the case of your friend Lenius, and to Pompeius himself, in the case of Sex. Staius, and have received their approbation of

my conduct ; or if he should be offended at my withdrawing the troops ; I shall be sorry indeed to have incurred his displeasure, but much more so to find him a different man from what I had supposed. This, however, Scaptius must acknowledge, that he was enabled to receive all the money according to the terms of my decree. I may add too, what I doubt if you will yourself approve : for the interest ought to have stood as it was in the decree ; and the Salaminians wished accordingly to deposit it :⁶ but I prevailed upon them to forbear. They gave way to me indeed ; but what is to become of them if Paullus should succeed to the province ? All this I did for Brutus's sake, who has written to you very kindly about me : but to me, even when he is asking a favor, he writes in a dogmatical, haughty, uncivil manner. I wish you would write to him upon these matters, that I may know how he takes it : for you will inform me. I had indeed particularly mentioned this subject to you in a former letter ;⁷ but I would have you distinctly understand that I had not forgot what you said in some of your letters, that if I brought back from this province nothing else besides his favor, it was sufficient. Be it so, since you desire it : but with this condition I pre-

⁶ See Book v. Letter *xxi.* note 13.

⁷ Book v. Letter *xxi.*

sume, that I incur no guilt. Accordingly I decreed the payment of Scaptius's debt without delay. How properly the decree was formed I leave you to judge. I shall not appeal even to Cato. But do not suppose I have thrown aside your exhortations, which are imprinted in my bosom. With tears in your eyes you commended to me my reputation. What letter of yours is there, in which you do not advert to it? Let then, who will, be angry; I shall be content with having right on my side; especially as I have bound myself by six books,⁸ as it were so many pledges, with which I am rejoiced to find you so well pleased. In these you doubt about one historical fact, relating to Cnæus the son of M. Flavius. But he did not live before the time of the Decemviri: for he was Curule Ædile; which was an office instituted many years after the Decemviri. What then was the use of his publishing the table of the festivals? It is supposed to have been at some time concealed, with the view of making it necessary to consult the few upon the proper days for transacting business. And many authors assert, that Cn. Flavius the scribe, published the list of festivals, and composed the formularies of legal process; that you may not suppose it to be my invention, or rather that of Africanus, for it is he that speaks. What is

⁸ De Republica.

said about the gesture of a player has not escaped you. You entertain a wicked suspicion;⁹ I wrote it in perfect simplicity. You say that you heard of my being saluted Imperator through Philotimus. But I take for granted, since you have been in Epirus, you have received from me two letters, with a full account of every thing; one from Pindenissus presently after its capture, the other from Laodicea, both delivered to your servants. Upon the same subject I sent public dispatches to Rome by two different messengers, for fear of the accidents of a sea voyage. About my daughter Tullia I agree with you; and have written to her, and to Terentia, to express my concurrence. For you had before said—"and " I could wish you had gone back to your own " flock."¹⁰ The correction of the letter brought by Memmius was a matter of no difficulty: for I greatly prefer him from Pontidia,¹¹ to the other from Servilia: therefore you may get the assistance of Aufius, who has always been very friendly to me; and now may be expected to be still more so, as he ought to succeed to his

⁹ By supposing it glanced at the action of Hortensius, which was thought to be too artificial.

¹⁰ By his own flock, Atticus meant his own equestrian rank, from whence to take a husband for his daughter.

¹¹ Mentioned before, Book v. Letter XXI.

brother Appius's¹² affection towards me, along with the rest of his inheritance. He often declared how much he esteemed me; and shewed it in the affair of Bursa.¹³ You will relieve me from a great source of anxiety.¹⁴ I am not pleased with Furnius's exception;¹⁵ for the only time that I dread, is the one which he excepts. I should write more to you upon this subject, if you were at Rome. I am not surprised that you place all hope of peace in Pompeins. So it is: and I think that the charge of dissimulation¹⁶ must be removed. If the arrangement of my letter is confused, you must attribute it to yourself; for I follow you in your sudden transitions. The young Ciceros are attached to each other, and pursue their studies and exercises together; but, as Isocrates said of Ephorus and Theopompus,¹⁷ one wants a bridle,

¹² This Appius was not the same Appius Claudius, of whom Cicero elsewhere speaks as his predecessor in the government of Cilicia.

¹³ Cicero had formerly arraigned T. Manucius Plancus Bursa, on which occasion it is probable this Appius might have shewn some civility to him.

¹⁴ On the subject of Tullia's marriage.

¹⁵ Furnius appears to have proposed a decree to permit the governors of Syria and Cilicia to resign their provinces at the expiration of their year, except the Parthians should advance before the month of July.

¹⁶ See Book iv. Letter ix.

¹⁷ Two writers of history, brought up under Isocrates.

the other a spur. I mean to present Quintus with his gown¹⁸ of manhood on the festival of Bacchus (March 18), as his father desired. I shall observe the day, on the presumption of there being no intercalation. I am very much pleased with Dionysius. The boys say that he is very passionate; but there can be nobody of more learning, or better morals, or more attached to you and me. It is with justice that you hear the commendations of Thermus and Silius: they conduct themselves most honorably. Add also M. Nonius, Bibulus, me, if you will. I wish Scrofa had an opportunity of distinguishing himself; for it is a situation of splendor.¹⁹ The others discredit the administration of Cato. I am much obliged to you for having recommended my cause²⁰ to Hortensius. Dionysius thinks there is no hope about Amianus. I have been able to obtain no trace of Terentius: Mæragenes²¹ must certainly be

¹⁸ See Book v. Letter xx. note 12.

¹⁹ This is supposed to allude to some government of which Scrofa was desirous, and for which the other candidates were unfit. The subsequent mention of Cato's administration probably relates to some expression used by Atticus on this occasion.

²⁰ The cause here mentioned must mean his leave to return home.

²¹ This is the person to whom Atticus's slave had fled. See Book v. Letter xv. Those mentioned before were probably debtors of Atticus.

dead. I have passed through his property, on which there was not a living creature remaining. I did not know this at the time I spoke to your freedman Democritus. I have ordered the Rhosiac²² vases. But, pray what are you thinking of? In wrought dishes and splendid covers you use to entertain me with a dinner of herbs: what then can I suppose you will serve up in earthen ware? Directions have been given to search out a horn for Phemius:²³ it will no doubt be found. I trust he will perform something worthy of it. We are threatened with a Parthian war. Cassius has sent a foolish letter.²⁴ Bibulus's has not yet been received; when it is read, I imagine the Senate will at length be roused. For my own part, I am in great perplexity. If, as I hope, the term of my service is not extended, I have still fears about June and July. Yet, suppose any irruption to be made, Bibulus will surely be able to hold out for two months. But what will be the situation of him, whom I leave there; especially if it be my brother? or what will be my own, if I do not take my departure

²² Rhosus was the name of a town on the confines of Syria and Cilicia, and might perhaps have been distinguished for its pottery; but I find no mention of it in Plinius, or elsewhere.

²³ This is before mentioned, Book v. Letter xx.

²⁴ Book v. Letter XXI.

so soon? This is a great difficulty. I have however agreed with Deiotarus, that he is to join my camp with all his forces. He has thirty cohorts of 400 men each, armed in our manner; and 2000 horse. He will support us till Pompeius arrives; who, by the letters I have received from him, gives me to understand that the business will be left to him. The Parthians have taken up their winter quarters in the Roman province.²⁵ Orodes²⁶ himself is expected. In short, there is some stir. I have made no deviation from Bibulus's proclamation, besides that exception about which you wrote to me, as containing a reflexion upon our order.²⁷ I have adopted what is equivalent, but more guarded, from the Asiatic proclamation of Q. Mucius, son to Publius, "that covenants should be performed with " good faith; excepting when the transaction " was of such a nature, that it could not pro- " perly be observed." I have also followed many parts of Scævola's; among the rest, that which the Greeks consider as the restoration of their freedom; that in settling their disputes with each other, they should use their own laws. The proclamation is a short one, because

²⁵ Cicero, when he calls it our province, means not his own, but a Roman province.

²⁶ The Parthian king.

²⁷ The order of Roman knights.

of my having divided it under two distinct heads: one of them provincial; in which is contained what relates to the public accounts of the cities, to debts, interest of money, contracts, likewise all the concerns of the public renters: the other embraces, what could not conveniently be determined without a proclamation, the entering upon inheritances, and property, the appointment of commissioners, and sales of effects; which are usually demanded, and executed, under a decree of the governor. A third head, concerning the determination of all other causes, I left unwritten, professing to regulate my decrees of this sort by those of Rome. Thus I endeavour, and hitherto succeed in giving general satisfaction. The Greeks are delighted with having judges of their own nation. Poor ones, you will say. What does it signify? at least they think they have obtained their freedom by it. For your people²⁸ truly have dignified judges in the persons of Turpio the cobbler, and Vettius the broker. You wish to know what I mean to do with the renters. I make much of them, I humour them, I commend them in words, and pay them honors; but take care they shall not be vexatious to any body. What is most extraordinary, even Servilius abided by the interest of money, as it had been ratified in their

²⁸ The people of Epirus.

contracts. But I manage thus ; I appoint a day at a considerable distance, before which if they pay what is due, I give notice that I shall estimate the interest at 12 per cent. ; but if they do not pay, then I leave them to their contract. By these means both the Greeks pay at a reasonable interest ; and the renters get an arrangement which is very acceptable. Such is the present state of things ; they have verbal honor in full measure, and frequent invitations. In short, they are all so well with me, that every body thinks himself to be the most so. But withal, “there is nothing”²⁹—you know the rest. About the statue of Africanus (how unconnected the subjects ! but this very circumstance delights me in your letter) ; what say you ? Does not this Scipio Metellus know that his own ancestor was never Censor ? Yet on the statue, which you had placed in that elevated situation in the temple of Ops, there was inscribed nothing but “Consul.” Likewise on that, which is in the temple of Pollux, there is inscribed “Con-
“sul :” and, that it was of this same Africanus, the attitude, the dress, the ring, the likeness itself declares : in fact, when in that crowd of gilt knights, which this Metellus placed in the

²⁹ In the original there are only two Greek words, the beginning of some sentence familiar to Atticus, but not known at this time : of course the sense is matter of conjecture, in which state I have thought it best to leave it.

Capitol, I observed the statue of Africanus with the inscription of Serapion, I supposed it to be an error of the workman; but now I see it was Metellus's. What a disgraceful ignorance! Respecting Flavius, and the festivals, if it is a mistake, at least it is a general one; and you have very properly doubted; and I was near following the common opinion; as is done in many of the circumstances related by the Greek historians. For who has not asserted that the Eupolis of the ancient comedy was thrown into the sea by Alcibiades, as he was sailing to Sicily? Yet Eratosthenes has confuted it, by adducing plays which he wrote after that time. But is Duris of Samos therefore, an historian of great research, to be reviled because he has made the same mistake as many others? Who has not said that Zaleucus composed laws for the Locrians? And is Theophrastus then to be scorned, because the circumstance is contradicted by your favorite Timæus? But not to know that his own ancestor had not been Censor, is disgraceful: especially as, during the remainder of his life after his consulship, no Cornelius whatever had been Censor. As to what you say of Philotimus, and the payment of the 20,600 Sestertii (£165.), I understand that Philotimus came to the Chersonesus³⁰ about the beginning of

³⁰ To collect debts (Book vi. Letter 5.)

January; but I have yet received nothing from him. Camillus sends me word that he has received the residue which belonged to me; what that is, I know not, and should be glad to know. But of these matters hereafter. Perhaps they can best be settled when we meet. One thing, my Atticus, towards the conclusion of your letter disturbed me: for you write thus—"What more?" Then you go on to entreat me in the most friendly manner, "not to relax in my vigilance, and to take care what is done." Have you then heard any thing wrong of any body? Though assuredly there is nothing of the kind; far from it. For it would not have escaped me, nor will it. Yet that admonition of yours, so particular, seems to indicate something. Respecting M. Octavius, I now reply to you a second time, that you have given him³¹ a very proper answer. I wish you had done it a little more confidently. For Cælius sent his freedman to me with a very civil letter; but spake of the panthers, and of the cities,³² most foully. I wrote word back that, in the first place, I was sorry I should be so little known in this obscurity, as to have it yet unheard in Rome that no expenses were

³¹ Book v. Letter *xxi.*

³² Wanting Cicero to use his authority for Curio's service, by demanding panthers, and levying contributions from certain towns in his province.

imposed upon the people of my province, but for the payment of debts: and I informed him that it was neither lawful for me to procure the money he wanted, nor for him to receive it: and I admonished him, whom I really love, that having been himself the accuser of others,³³ he should conduct himself more cautiously. In the next place, I gave him to understand that it was inconsistent with my honor, to make the Cybritans have a public hunting by my command. Lepta is in raptures with your letter; for it is beautifully written, and has put me in high favor with him. I am much obliged to your daughter for having expressly desired you to send me her good wishes: I am obliged to Pilia also: but the former has been more forward in her kindness, by greeting me, whom she has yet never seen. Do you therefore in return make my compliments to both of them. A passage of your letter dated the 31st of December contained a grateful recollection of the celebrated oath,³⁴ which I had not forgotten: for on that day I was great in my robe of

³³ It was he who had accused C. Antonius of corruption.

³⁴ When upon resigning the consulship on the 31st of December, Cicero, having been invidiously forbid to harangue the people, adroitly altered the usual oath, and instead of swearing that he had faithfully discharged his duty, he swore that the Republic and city of Rome had been saved by his means.

honor. You have my reply to all the subjects of your letters ; not, as you ask me, gold for brass ;³⁵ but like for like. But there is another little letter, which I must not leave unanswered. Luceius might indeed very well give up his Tusculanum ;³⁶ unless perhaps that he likes to retire there with his piper. I should be glad to know what is the real state of his affairs. I hear too that our friend Lentulus has offered for sale his Tusculanum on account of his debts. I wish to see them both free ; and likewise Sestius, and add, if you please, Cælius ; to all of whom may be applied that verse of Homer, “ They were ashamed to refuse, and “ afraid to accept.”³⁷ I imagine you have heard of Curio’s intention of proposing the recall of Memnius. About the security of Egnatius Sidicinus,³⁸ I have yet some hope, though not much. Pinarius, whom you commend to me, is very unwell ; but Deiotarus takes great care of him in his sickness. I have now replied also to your little letter. I hope you will let me

³⁵ Alluding to Diomed’s exchanging his brazen armour for Glaucus’s of gold, mentioned in Homer.

³⁶ I suspect Cicero may have used the word Tusculanum only in reference to his own villa of that name.

³⁷ The application is a little uncertain ; but is generally supposed to signify, that these persons were ashamed of refusing the offers held out to them by Cæsar in their necessities, yet afraid of accepting them.

³⁸ Probably some creditor of Cicero.

frequently hear from you while I remain at Laodicea, that is, till the 15th of May; and when you come to Athens (for by that time we shall know about the city business, and about the provinces, which are all deferred to the month of March) send me a special messenger. But is it true that you have, through Herodes, already got from Cæsar fifty Attic talents (£9000.)? by which, as I hear, you have greatly incurred the displeasure of Pompeius; for he thinks you have devoured what belonged to him; and that Cæsar will become the more active in building at the Grove.³⁹ I heard this from P. Vedius, a great prodigal, but well acquainted with Pompeius. This Vedius met me with two light carriages, and a larger one suitably equipped, and a litter, and a great retinue; for which, if Curio's law should have passed,⁴⁰ he will be obliged to pay an hundred Sestertia (£800.) He had besides a dog-headed monkey in the carriage, and some wild asses. I never saw a more extravagant fellow. But hear the conclusion. He lodged at Laodicea with Pompeius Vindullus, and there he left his equipage when he came to me. Presently Vindullus dies, which event it is thought will concern

³⁹ Cæsar built a splendid house at Aricium, by the sacred grove of Diana.

⁴⁰ A sumptuary law.

Pompeius Magnus.⁴¹ C. Vennonius comes to Vindullus's house; and as he was sealing the effects, he lights upon the things belonging to Vedius. Among these were found five *lagunculæ*⁴² of married women, one of the sister of a friend of yours, a brutish⁴³ man, who associates with him, and wife of that merry Lepidus, who bears these things so carelessly. I wished to send you this history by the by; for we are both of us very curious. There is one thing besides I would have you consider. I am told that Appius is erecting a portico at Eleusis. Should I be foolish, if I were to erect one at the Academy?⁴⁴ I think so, you will say. Then you must give it me in writing. I am very fond of Athens, and should like to leave

⁴¹ From the name of Pompeius prefixed to Vindullus, it appears probable that the latter might be a freedman of Pompeius; in which case, if he died intestate, and without children, Pompeius would succeed to one half of his property.

⁴² I have left the Latin word, as it stands in Grævius's edition, without attempting to suggest either an alteration or explanation. Whatever be its proper signification; whether an image, as some have supposed; or some article of female use; it seems at least to have contained an impress, or name, by which its owner might be known.

⁴³ A joking expression for Brutus, admissible only in such joking relations. The word *Lepidus* is afterwards introduced in a similar manner.

⁴⁴ The Academy at Athens, the original seat of that system of philosophy which Cicero followed.

some memorial, while I hate false inscriptions on other persons' statues. But as it shall please you. You will also inform me on what day the Roman mysteries fall;⁴⁵ and how you pass the winter. Take care of your health. The seven hundred and sixty-fifth day after the battle of Leuctra.⁴⁶

LETTER II.

YOUR freedman, Philogenes, having called to pay his respects to me at Laodicea, saying that he was going to cross the sea to you immediately, I send this letter by him in answer to that which I received through Brutus's courier; And I shall reply first to your last page, which has given me great uneasiness, owing to what Cincius has written about Statius's conversation; in which it is very vexatious that Statius should say I approved that design.¹ I ap-

⁴⁵ It was before observed, that previously to Cæsar's correction of the calendar, the year was regulated by the intercalation of more, or fewer days, between the 23d and 24th of February, at the discretion of the Pontifices: and till this was proclaimed, the time of the subsequent festivals was not known.

⁴⁶ That is, after the memorable affray in which Clodius was killed, and which Cicero humorously compares to the battle of Leuctra, famous in Grecian history.

¹ Quintus having thought of getting divorced from Pomponia, Atticus's sister.

prove it? Upon this subject, I have only to say, that it is my wish to have as many bonds of connexion with you as possible; though the strongest of all are still those of affection; so far am I from wishing to loosen any of those by which we are united. But that he² is apt to speak too harshly about these matters, I have often experienced, and have often appeased his anger, as I believe you know. And in this excursion, or campaign, of mine, I have repeatedly seen him inflamed with rage and calmed again. What he may have written to Statius, I know not. But, whatever he meant to do in an affair of that kind, at least he ought not to have detailed it to his freedman. I will, however, use my utmost endeavours, that nothing may be done contrary to our wishes, and to his duty; for it is not enough, in such a case, for every one merely to attend to his own conduct. The boy, or now the young man, Cicero,³ has especially his part in this duty; of which, indeed, I often remind him: and he seems to me to bear great affection, as he ought, towards his mother, and remarkably so towards you. He is a boy of good parts, but unsteady; in regulating which I have enough to do. Having now, in my first page, answered

² Quintus.

³ Quintus's son.

your last, I shall return to the beginning of your letter. In applying the term maritime,⁴ to all the cities of the Peloponesus, I have followed the synopsis of Dicæarchus, no inconsiderable author, but one approved even by your judgment. In relating Chæron's⁵ account of Trophonius's cave, he finds great fault with the Greeks for having so adhered to the sea coast, and does not accept any place in the Peloponesus. Though I was pleased with the author, (for he was well versed in history, and had lived in the Peloponesus), yet I was surprized; and communicated my doubts to Dionysius. He was at first struck with it; but, having as good an opinion of Dicæarchus, as you can have of C. Vestorius, or I of M. Cluvius, he thought I might safely trust him. He reckoned a certain place called Leprion to be a maritime town of Arcadia; and considered Tene and Aliphera, and Tritia as recently built; which he confirmed by Homer's catalogue of the ships, in which there is no mention made of them. And I transcribed that passage from Dicæarchus in so many words. I knew that the Phliasians were so called; and would have you put it in

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⁴ This alludes to some observations of Atticus upon Cicero's "Treatise De Republica."

⁵ Chæron seems to have been one of the speakers introduced in a work of Dicæarchus, upon the descent into Trophonius's cave.

your copy: I have it so. But at first I was misled by analogy; Phlius, Opus, Sipus, from whence are derived Opuntii, Sipuntii; but I presently corrected it. I understand you are pleased with my moderation and forbearance. You would be more so, if you were here. In this court, which I hold at Laodicea from the middle of February to the end of April for all the departments except Cilicia, I have been able to effect wonders; so many cities have been set free from all debt, so many greatly relieved, and all, by being allowed to use their own laws and judicature, have revived as if they had gained their freedom. There are two ways by which I have enabled them to discharge, or at least to diminish, their debts. One, by putting them to no expence within my government; when I say none, I am not speaking hyperbolically, but mean literally none, not a farthing. From this alone it is incredible how the cities have been relieved. Another was, that there were surprising impositions practised by the Greeks themselves, in the persons of their magistrates. I instituted an enquiry myself, respecting those who had held magistracies within the last ten years; and they openly confessed. Therefore, without any public disgrace, they were left to restore to the people their money. And the people, who in this present lustrum ⁶ had paid nothing, have, without

murmuring, discharged even what was due of the lustrum preceding. So that I am in favor with the renters : a grateful set of people, you will say. I am sensible of it. The rest of my administration has been mild and courteous, and not inconsiderate. The access to me has been by no means such as is usual in the provincial governments. There has been no intriguing with the chamberlain. I am up and walking before it is light, as I used to do when I was a candidate. This is great ; and well received ; and is not laborious to me from the habit of that ancient service. On the 7th of May, I think of going into Cilicia ; and after spending the month of June there (I wish it may be in peace, for we are threatened with a great war from the Parthians), to employ July on my return. For my year of office expires the 30th of July, and I am in great hope that no extension of the time will be made. I have the City Registers to the 7th of March, by which I find, that, by the perseverance of my friend Curio, any thing is likely to be passed rather than the business of the provinces. I hope, therefore, that I shall very soon see you. I come now to your friend, nay, my friend Brutus, for so you will have it. I have done

⁶ The Censors were chosen every five years, which interval was called a lustrum. The revenues of the republic were let by the censors for this space of time.

every thing that I could do in my province, or that I could attempt in the kingdom.⁷ I have exerted myself with the king in every way, and continue to do so daily by letter. For I had him three or four days with me in a disturbed state of his affairs, from which I have extricated him. And, both personally, and afterwards by reiterated letters, I have not ceased to beg and intreat him for my sake, and to advise and persuade him for his own. I have been able to do a good deal; but how much I do not exactly know, owing to my great distance from him. The Salaminians, however, (for these I could force) I have brought to express their readiness to pay the whole account to Scaptius, on condition of paying interest at twelve per cent. reckoned from the last contract, and not merely twelve per cent. throughout, but with the interest added to the principal at the end of each year. The money was paid down: but Scaptius refused to take it. And do you say then that Brutus is content to sustain some loss? It was 48 per cent. in the contract. The thing was impossible; nor, if it had been possible, could I have suffered it. I hear now that Scaptius repents. For, what he affirmed to be by a decree of the senate, that the contract should be good in law, was done

⁷ The kingdom of Ariobarzanes, in Cappadocia.

from this consideration, that the Salaminians had raised money contrary to the Gabinian law. For the law of Aulus Gabinus forbids the cognizance of such bonds. The senate therefore decreed, that the bond should be cognizable. It consequently possesses just the same authority as others, and nothing more. This statement of what has past, I think Brutus himself must approve. How you⁸ may approve it I cannot say; Cato certainly will. But to return to you: can you, my Atticus, who praise so highly my integrity and politeness; can you, from your own mouth, as Ennius says, ask me to send troops to Scaptius for the purpose of extortion? Would you, if you were with me; who sometimes say, that you are vexed at not being so; would you suffer me to do it, if I wished it? "Not more," you say, "than fifty men." There were, at first, not so many with Spartacus.⁹ And what mischief would they not have done in so exposed an island? But would they not have done it? Nay, what did they not do before my arrival? They kept the senate of the Salaminians shut up in their meeting room so many days, that some of them perished with hunger. For Scaptius was a prefect under Appius, and had

⁸ This appears to be said in joke.

⁹ Spartacus had been the leader of a formidable rebellion of the Roman Slaves.

some troops from him. Do you then, whose image is presented to my mind as often as I think of any thing honorable and praiseworthy; do you, I say, ask me to make Scaptius a prefect? I had formerly made a resolution to appoint nobody engaged in traffic; and Brutus approved of it. Should he have cavalry? why rather than infantry? Scaptius, I suppose, is grown prodigal of his money. The principal people, you say, wish it. I know how much they wish it: for they came as far as Ephesus to meet me, and with tears related the infamous conduct of the cavalry, and their own miseries. In consequence, I immediately dispatched letters to have the troops removed from Cyprus before a certain day; and for this, among other reasons, the Salaminians applaud me to the skies in their decrees. But what need of troops now? For the Salaminians already pay: unless, indeed, I wished to compel them by force of arms to reckon the interest at 48 per cent. And if I were to do such a thing, should I ever dare to read, or look into those books¹⁰ which you commend? In this business, my sweet Atticus, you have shewn too much, yes, too much regard to Brutus: I fear I may have shewn too little. I have acknowledged, in a letter to Brutus, that you mentioned these particulars to me. Now let me turn to some-

¹⁰ His Treatise on Government.

thing else. I shall here do all I can for Appius ;¹¹ consistently, however, with my honor ; but most readily ; for I bear him no ill will ; and have a great regard to Brutus ;¹² and Pompeius wonderfully presses it, whom, in truth, I love more and more every day. You have heard that C. Cælius is coming hither, as quæstor. I do not know how it is, but that Pammenian business does not please me.¹³ I hope to be at Athens in the month of September. I should be glad to know the times of your movements. I was acquainted with the simplicity of Sempronius Rufus, by your letter from Corcyra. What think you ? I envy the superiority of Vestorius. I should like still to prattle on ; but the day breaks ; the throng increases ; and Philogenes is hastening to depart. I must therefore bid you farewell, and beg that you will make my compliments to Pilia and to our little Cæcilia, when you write. My son Cicero sends his kind regards.

¹¹ He had been accused of peculation in the government of Cilicia, in which he had been Cicero's predecessor.

¹² Appius was a relation and friend of Brutus.

¹³ See the conclusion of the 20th Letter of the Fifth Book.

LETTER III.

THOUGH I have no news to tell you of any thing that has happened since I wrote to you by your freedman Philogenes; yet as I am going to send Philotimus to Rome, I will not let him go without a few lines to you: and first, what particularly concerns me, (not that you can at all help me, for the business does not admit of delay, and you are a long way off, and, as it is said, “the wind rolls many waves “of the wide sea between us”) the day, as you see, creeps on; for I leave the province the 30th of July; and there is yet no successor appointed. Whom shall I leave to take the command of the province? Reason, and general expectation, calls for my brother; in the first place, because it is esteemed an honor, and therefore nobody is more proper; in the next place, because he is the only person I have of prætorian rank. For Pontinius, by the terms of his agreement, (having come out upon that condition) has already left me. Nobody thinks my quæstor¹ of sufficient dignity; for he is volatile, licentious, and addicted to pleasure. But, with regard to my brother, the

¹ Mescinius. See Letter iv.

first consideration is, that I imagine he would not easily be prevailed upon; for he dislikes the province; and, in truth, nothing can be more disagreeable, or more troublesome. Then, supposing he should not choose to refuse me, what ought I to do? For, at a time when there is thought to be a great war in Syria; and that likely to force its way into this province; while there is here no defence; and supplies voted only for the year that is expiring; what affection does it argue to leave my brother? or what attention to my duty to leave a mere trifler? You see, therefore, under what difficulties I labor, and how much I stand in need of advice. In short, I did not wish to have any thing to do with this whole business.² How much preferable is your province?³ You can leave it when you please, (unless, perhaps, you may have left it already), and you may appoint over Thesprotia and⁴ Chaonia whomsoever you think fit. However, I have not yet seen Quintus, to know whether, if I wished it, he could be brought to agree to it: nor, if he could, am I sure what I should wish. So much then for this. The rest is hitherto full of praise and thanks, and not un-

² Compare this sentence, which is rather obscure, with "O rem totam odiosam!" Letter iv.

³ Atticus's own estate in Epirus.

⁴ Districts of Epirus, in the vicinity of Buthrotum.

worthy of those books which you are pleased to commend. Cities have been preserved; the renters have been abundantly satisfied; nobody has been hurt by any insult, very few by the severe justice of my decrees, and nobody so that he dare complain. Deeds have been accomplished that would justify a triumph; about which I shall do nothing in a hurry, and nothing at all without your advice. The only difficulty is in delivering up the province; and this some God must determine. Respecting the affairs of the city, you know more than I: you have more frequent, and more certain intelligence. Indeed I am concerned that I should not myself have received information from your letters: for there were unpleasant reports here about Curio and Paullus.⁵ Not that I apprehend any danger while Pompeius stands, or even sits by us; let him but have his health. But yet I lament the condition of Curio and Paullus, with whom I am well acquainted. If, therefore, you are now in Rome, or whenever you are there, I should wish you to send me a sketch of the whole state, which I may comprehend, and by which I may fashion myself, and consider beforehand in what disposition of mind I should approach the city. For it is something not to be quite a stranger and

⁵ They had been bought over by Cæsar, at a great price.

uninformed upon my arrival. I had almost forgot to add, that, for your friend Brutus's sake, as I have repeatedly written to you, I have done every thing I could. The Cypriots paid down the money; but Scaptius was not satisfied with the interest of twelve per cent. accumulating at the end of each year. Pompeius has not been able to get more from Ariobarzanes through his own influence, than Brutus has got through mine; though it was impossible for me to ensure him. For the king was very poor; and I was so far off, that I could only act by letters, with which I have not ceased to press him. The result is, that, in proportion to the amount, Brutus comes off better than Pompeius: for about 100 talents (£20,000) have been procured for Brutus in the course of the year; and in six months 200 (£40,000) have been promised to Pompeius. But in the affair of Appius, it can hardly be told what consideration I have had for Brutus. Why then should I vex myself? His friends are mere trifles, Matinius, and Scaptius; who because he could not get from me a troop of horse to harass the Cypriots, is perhaps angry; or because he is not a prefect; which I have granted to nobody engaged in traffick; not to C. Vennonius, my own familiar acquaintance; nor to yours, M. Lenius. This I told you in Rome that I meant to observe; and I have

persevered in it. But what reason can he have to complain, who refused to take the money when it was offered him? The other Scaptius, who was in Cappadocia, is, I imagine, satisfied. Upon receiving from me the appointment of Tribune, which I offered him at the request of Brutus, he afterwards wrote to me to say that he did not wish to accept it. There is a person by the name of Gavius, whom I also made prefect by Brutus's desire; but he thought fit to say, and to do, many things against me, mixed with abuse; a very spaniel of P. Clodius. This fellow neither escorted me on my way to Apamea; nor afterwards, when he had come to the camp and was returning again, did he ask if I had any commands; and he was, I know not why, manifestly unfriendly. If I had employed such a man as prefect, what would you think of me? I, who, as you know, could never bear the insolence of the most powerful men, should I bear it in this hireling? Though it is something more than bearing it, to bestow a place of emolument and honor. This Gavius then, seeing me lately at Apamea on his way to Rome, addressed me thus: (I should hardly venture to address Culleolus⁶ in such a manner) "Whence," says he, "am I to get my allowances as prefect?" I replied, with

⁶ By Culleolus it is evident that Cicero means some low person; but whom it is not known.

more gentleness than those who were present thought I ought to have done, "that I was not used to give allowances to those whose services were not wanted." He went away in a passion. If Brutus can be moved with the anger of such a worthless fellow, you may love him by yourself, I shall not be your rival. But I think Brutus will shew himself to be what he ought. I wished however that you might be acquainted with the real state of the case; and I have sent an exact account of it to Brutus himself. Between ourselves, Brutus positively sends me no letters, not even lately about Appius, in which there is not something haughty and unfriendly. It is a saying often in your mouth, that "Granius did not undervalue himself, and hated proud kings";⁷ in which however he rather excites my smile, than my anger: but he is in truth too regardless of what he writes, or to whom. Q. Cicero the son has, I suppose, nay, certainly, read the letter addressed to his father. For he is in the habit of opening them, and that by my advice, in case there should be any thing of importance to be known. In that letter was the same notice about your sister, which you mentioned to me. I saw the young man wonderfully moved, and

⁷ The original is taken from Ennius. I apprehend it to have been familiarly applied to Brutus by his friend Atticus.

he uttered his grief to me in tears. In short, I observed a great degree of filial affection, of sweetness, and kindness; from which I entertain the greater hope that nothing will be done hastily.⁸ This I wished you to be acquainted with. I am sorry to add that young Hortensius has been conducting himself in a very unbecoming and disgraceful manner at the exhibition of gladiators at Laodicea. I invited him to dinner, for his father's sake, the day he arrived; and for the same father's sake, I have done nothing more.⁹ He told me that he should wait for me at Athens, that we might return home together. "Very well," said I; for what could I say? In fact I imagine what he said is nothing at all. I should certainly be sorry, from fear of offending the father, for whom I have a great regard. If he should go with me, I will so manage him, as not to give offence where I should be very sorry to do it. I have nothing more to say, but that I should be glad if you would send me Q. Celer's speech against M. Servilius. Let me hear from you soon. If there is no news, at least let me hear by your messenger that there is none. My regards to Pilia and your daughter. Farewell.

⁸ This no doubt refers to the report of Quintus's divorce, mentioned in Letter II:

⁹ Hortensius had quarrelled with his son, who seems to have been an ill-conditioned young man.

LETTER IV.

I ARRIVED at Tarsus the 5th of June, where I met with several things which gave me uneasiness. There is a great war in Syria, great depredations in Cilicia; and any plan of administration is rendered difficult by reason of the short time that remains of my yearly office. But above all, my greatest difficulty is, that I am obliged by the decree of the Senate to leave somebody in charge of the government. Nothing could be more unfit than the Quæstor Mes-
cinius¹: and of Cælius² I yet hear nothing. It seems most proper to leave my brother with the command; but in this there are some unpleasant circumstances, such as my own departure, the danger of a war, the irregularities of the soldiers, and six hundred things besides. How hateful is the whole business! But this I must leave to fortune, since there is little opportunity for the exercise of prudence. When you are come safely, as I hope, to Rome, you will with your accustomed kindness see about every thing which you think concerns me;

¹ His character is given in the third Letter of this Book. The quæstors were not usually appointed by the commanders.

² See Letter II.

and, in the first place, about my dear Tullia, respecting whose establishment I have written my opinion to Terentia, while you were in Greece. The next thing to be considered is my honor. For in your absence I fear there has hardly been sufficient attention paid in the Senate to my letters. I shall besides write a few words to you more mysteriously, which your sagacity will be able to unravel. My wife's freedman (you know whom I mean³) has seemed to me lately, by what he has incautiously let out, to have confused the calculations arising from the sale of the goods of the Crotonian tyrannicide.⁴ And I fear—Do you understand me? Looking then yourself alone into this, secure the residue.⁵ I cannot write

³ Philotimus. See Book v. Letter viii.

⁴ Milo, of the same name as a celebrated prize fighter of Crotona. The addition of tyrannicide, it is almost needless to add, relates to his having killed Clodius.

⁵ It seems probable that Cicero's fears might arise from some suspicion of his wife's having availed herself of her authority over her freedman Philotimus to appropriate to her use part of the money obtained from the sale of Milo's goods (see Book v. Letter viii. Book xi. Letter xvi. and xxii. and Book xi. Letter ii. n. iii.) She appears to have been an improvident woman, and to have involved Cicero in debts. (Middleton's *Life* 4to Vol. ii. p. 130.) What I have rendered "secure the residue," I suppose to allude to what is said in the first Letter of this Book, towards the end—"Camillus sends me word that he has received the residue." The same thing is repeated in Letter v. "See after the residue."

all that I fear. Contrive that your letters may fly to meet me. I have written this hastily on my journey, and surrounded by troops. You will make my compliments to Pilia, and to the pretty little Cæcilia.

LETTER V.

By this time I presume you are in Rome, where, if it is so, I congratulate you upon your safe arrival. As long as you were away, you seemed to be further from me, than if you were at home; for I was more a stranger to the state, both of the public affairs, and of my own. Therefore, although I hope that I shall already have made some progress on my way by the time you read this, yet I should wish you to let me hear from you, with every particular, upon all subjects; especially upon what I before mentioned to you, that my wife's freedman has appeared to me, by his frequent hesitation, and shuffling, in different meetings and conversations, to have admitted some incorrectness into his computation of the Crotonian's property. Be so good as to enquire into this, with your usual kindness; but especially this: "From the walls of the city on the seven hills he delivered to Camillus¹ an account of debts to

¹ See Book vi. Letter 1. towards the end.

the amount of 24 and 48 minæ (£76 and 153£); that he owed 24 minæ from the Crotonian property; and from that of the Chersonesus² 48 minæ; and having entered upon a succession of 1280 minæ (£4096), he had not paid a farthing, though the whole was due the first of February: his own freedman, a namesake of Conon's father³ had been wholly inattentive. In the first place therefore take care that the principal may be all secured; then, that the interest from the fore-mentioned day may not be overlooked. I had great fears whilst I suffered him to be here; for he came to make observations, not without some hopes. But failing in this, he went away abruptly, saying, "I give up;" at the same time quoting a verse of Homer, that it is discreditable to remain long, and return empty.⁴ And he reproached me with the old saying; "what is given, &c."⁵ See after the residue;⁶ and as far as possible,

² In the same place it is said that Philotimus went to the Chersonesus the beginning of January.

³ Timotheus. Not only freedmen, but even slaves had their *peculiars*, or *vicarii*.

⁴ I have inserted a translation of the conclusion of this verse of Homer, without which the English would be unintelligible, though it was familiar to Atticus.

⁵ "What is given must satisfy us."

⁶ That is, the balance of his accounts mentioned in the preceding Letter, and probably alluding to the money received by Camillus over and above what Philotimus kept in his own possession. See Letter 1. Book VI.

let me clearly understand it. Though I have now almost served my yearly term; for there are only thirty-three days remaining; yet I am greatly harassed by the anxious state of the province. For while Syria is blazing with arms; and Bibulus in the midst of his sad affliction⁷ sustains the chief burden of the war; and his lieutenants, and Quæstor, and friends, are sending to me to come to their assistance; though my army is but weak; yet, having good auxiliaries of the Galatians, Pisidians, and Lydians, which constitute its strength, I have thought it my duty to keep them as near as possible to the enemy, so long as the Decree of the Senate authorizes me to preside over the province. But, what gives me great satisfaction, Bibulus is not importunate with me, but rather writes to inform me of every thing. In the mean time the day of my departure creeps on unobserved. As soon as it arrives, it will be another question, whom I shall leave in the command; unless Calvus Cælius, the new quæstor, should be come, of whom I have yet heard nothing certain. I intended to have written a longer letter; but I have nothing more to say, and am too full of care to trifle and joke. Farewell therefore, and make my compliments to the dear little Attica, and to my friend Pilia.

⁷ Bibulus had recently lost two sons by treachery.

LETTER VI¹.

(GRÆV. VII.)

YOUNG Quintus has, with all duty, reconeiled the mind of his father to your sister. It is true that I encouraged him, but when he was already in his course. Your letter too was a great incitement. In short, I trust the affair will terminate as we wish. I have written to you two letters about my private concerns, if only they have been delivered. They were in Greek, and in purposed ambiguity. But there is no occasion to do any thing, besides simply asking about Milo's account, and exhorting him to use dispatch, as he promised me: You may thus be of some service. I have desired the Quæstor Mescinius to wait at Laodicea, that I may get the accounts made out, agreeably to the Julian Law, and left in two of the provincial cities. I design to go to Rhodes for the sake of the boys; and thence as soon as possible to Athens, though the winds are very much against us: but I want to reach home during the year of the present magistrates, whose good will I have experieneed in the decree for a supplication.²

¹ See the following Letter, note 3.

² A public thanksgiving, which used to be voted upon any signal success; and which might lead to his obtaining a triumph.

But let me hear from you on my way, whether you think I ought to take more time, out of respect to the Republic. I should have written by Tiro, but have left him very ill at Issus. They send me word however that he is better; but I am much concerned for him. For nothing can be more modest, or more attentive, than that young man.

LETTER VII.

(GRÆV. VI.)

WHILST in every thing I support Appius's honor in the province, I am on a sudden become son-in-law to his accuser. May it turn out happily! you say. I hope it may, and I am sure that you wish it. But, believe me, I thought of nothing less; and had sent some confidential persons to the ladies about Tiberius Nero, who had applied to me on the subject. When they came to Rome, the contract was already made. I hope this may be a more desirable party. I understand the ladies are exceedingly delighted with the young man's courtesy and complaisance. You must not try to pick out defects. But how is this? Do you distribute bread to the populace at Athens? Do you think this right? Though my treatise¹

¹ His treatise on Government, in which it is to be presumed the author objected to such bounties as might

does not forbid it ; for this is no bribe amongst fellow citizens, but a liberal acknowledgment of hospitality. You still advise me to think of the portico for the Academy,² though Appius no longer thinks of that at Eleusis. I am sure you must be sorry for Hortensius.³ I am myself deeply concerned ; for I had looked forwards to living with him in great familiarity. I have appointed Cælius to the charge of the province. “ A mere boy, you will say, and perhaps giddy, and undignified, and intemperate.” I acknowledge it ; but it could not be otherwise : for I was struck with the letter I had received from you some time since, in which you said that you doubted what I ought to do about resigning the command. I saw what was the cause of your doubt, and was sensible of the difficulty ; that I was delivering it to a boy : but it was not desirable to deliver it to my brother ; and, besides my brother, there was nobody, whom I could with propriety advance before the Quæstor, especially as he was a person of noble birth. However, so long procure an undue influence to the donor, among his fellow citizens.

² See Letter 1.

³ Hortensius was lately dead. It appears from the preface to Cicero's treatise *De Claris Oratoribus*, that he heard of this event at Rhodes on his return from Cilicia. And it is on this account, that I have transposed the order of this and the following letter, which it is evident was written previous to his arrival at Rhodes.

as the Parthians seemed to threaten us, I had determined either to leave my brother in the command; or even, for the sake of the republic, to remain myself, contrary to the decree of the Senate. But since by a most unexpected good fortune they have retired, my doubt has been removed. I foresaw what would be said: "So, has he resigned to his brother? Is this holding the government for not more than a year? What avails it that the Senate wished the provinces to devolve upon such as had not before had a command; while this⁴ man has commanded for three years together?" This then is what I say in public.⁵ But what shall I say to you? I should never be free from anxiety, lest he should do something angrily, or disrespectfully, or carelessly; for such is the condition of mankind. What if his son should be guilty of some imprudence, a boy of great self confidence? What vexation would it give me? For his father would not send him away; and was not pleased that you should advise it. But

⁴ Q. Cicero had held the provincial government of Asia three years.

⁵ The meaning is, that this anticipation of what might be objected to him, is the reason he professes for not appointing his brother. To Atticus he subjoins the real reason, which is his fear of some misconduct from his brother's hasty disposition.

as for Cælius, I do not say that I care not what he does; but however I care much less. Add to this, that Pompeius, a man of that weight and experience, appointed Q. Cassius; and Cæsar, Antonius; without the form of a ballot⁶: should I offend one who is given me by ballot? and thereby induce him to pry into the conduct of the person whom I had left? What I have done is preferable, and is warranted by many precedents, and is more suited to my age⁷. But, ye gods! in what favor have I put you with him, by reading to him, I do not say your letter, but that of your secretary. The letters of my friends invite me to demand a triumph, a thing, as I think, not to be despised in this regeneration⁸ of my fortunes. Therefore, my Atticus, do you also begin to wish it, that I may not be discountenanced.

⁶ The Quæstors seem to have been usually appointed by the government at home after a ballot. Cassius, and Antonius, though irregularly appointed, were left in the command, one of Spain, the other of Gaul, at as early an age as Cælius.

⁷ An age when it became desirable to avoid contentions, such as might be excited against him, if he offended his Quæstor.

⁸ Having begun, as it were, a new life, after his restoration from banishment, a life which required the support of new honors: for, before that event, the fame of his consulship had been such, as to make him disregard them.

LETTER VIII.

As I was going to write to you, and had actually taken up my pen, Batonius came directly from the ship to the house in which I was at Ephesus, and delivered to me your letter of September 30. I rejoice at your favorable passage, your meeting with Pilia, and, not least, at her conversation about the marriage of my daughter Tullia. But Batonius has brought me strange alarms respecting Cæsar: to Lepta he has spoken yet more at large. I hope his news may not be true; it is certainly dreadful: that he will on no account dismiss his army; and that the Prætors elect, and Cassius the Tribune of the people, and the Consul Lentulus, support him; while Pompeius thinks of retiring from the city. But how is this? Are you at all troubled for him, who sets himself before the uncle of your sister's son?¹ And who are they that have defeated him? But to my purpose. The Etesian winds have greatly retarded me; and this undecked vessel of the Rhodians has made me lose 20 days. Whilst

¹ The same expression is used in reference to the same event, Book v. Letter XIX. and is no doubt taken from something said upon that occasion. The person alluded to is generally acknowledged to be Hirrus.

I am on the point of embarking from Ephesus, I deliver this letter to L. Tarquitiuſ, who leaves the port at the ſame time, but will ſail quicker. For in theſe open veſſels, and other long boats of the Rhodians, we muſt watch for fair weather. I have however made as much haſte as I could. I am pleaſed with what you ſay of the Puteolan crumbs.² Now I ſhould wiſh you carefully to conſider the ſtate of the Roman affairs, and ſee what you think ſhould be determined about demanding a triumph, to which my friends invite me. I ſhould be quite eaſy about it, if Bibulus was not trying for it; who, as long as there was one enemy³ in Syria, no more put his foot out of the gate, than he had formerly done out of his houſe.⁴ But now it is diſgraceful to be ſilent. However, conſider the whole matter; that as ſoon as we

² The word in the original, *rauduſculum*, or *ruduſculum*, is probably derived from *rudus* “rubbish,” and thence is uſed for the “ſweepings,” “crumbs,” or “little remains” of a debt. It is uſed in the ſame ſenſe Book iv. Letter viii.

³ In the text it is *hoſpes*, “ſtranger:” but I have thought it better to adopt the very eaſy alteration of *hoſtis*, than to admit ſo conſtrained an expreſſion.

⁴ Bibulus, when he was joint Conſul with Cæſar, had been inſulted and violently driven from the forum; in conſequence of which he afterwards ſhut himſelf up in his houſe, and acted only by the publication of edicts. See Book ii. Letter xxi.

meet, I may be able to make my determination. But I am writing more than enough: for I have no time to spare, and am sending by one, who will either arrive with me, or not much before. Cicero⁵ presents his compliments. You will present those of both of us to Pilia, and to your daughter.

LETTER IX.

IMMEDIATELY upon my landing in the Piræus¹ the 14th of October I received from my servant Acastus your letter, which I had long expected; but before I unsealed it, I took notice of its shortness; when I had opened it, I was struck with the unevenness of the letters, which you generally form very correctly and distinctly. In short, I perceived from thence, what you mention to be the case, that you came to Rome the 20th of September with a fever. Being greatly concerned, though not more than I ought, I immediately enquired of Acastus. He assured me that both you, and he, thought you were quite well, and that he had the same account from your own people; at the same time that he acknowledged, conformably to the conclusion of your letter, that you had

⁵ The son.

¹ The port of Athens.

some degree of fever at the time you wrote. I am very sensible of your kindness, yet surprised that you should nevertheless have written with your own hand. But enough of this: for I hope from your prudence and temperance, nay, as Acastus bids me, I trust, that you are, as I wish you, already well. I am glad you received the letter I sent you by Turannius. Watch, specially, if you love me, the greediness² of this confounder. Take care that he do not touch this Præcian inheritance, how little soever it may be. It gives me much concern, for I had a great regard for the man. Say that I have need of money for the splendor of my triumph; in regard to which, as you advise, you shall find me neither vain in demanding it, nor insensible in rejecting it. I understand by your letter, that Turannius told you I had consigned the province to my brother. Do you think I should so ill interpret your guarded expression, when you say you doubted?³ What need was there of doubt, if there was any reason for wishing my brother to be left, and such a brother? It was to my mind a prohibition, not a doubt. You advise me by no

² In the original is a Greek word derived from Philotimus, which marks the meaning of the author. The term "confounder" refers to the confusion which Philotinus had admitted into his accounts. Letter iv. and v.

³ See Letter vi.

means to leave the young Quintus Cicero. That is the very exposition of my own sentiments. We have seen every thing in the same light, as if we had conversed together. It could not be done otherwise; and your continued doubt freed me from all doubt. But I imagine you have received a letter written more fully upon this subject. I mean to send my messenger to-morrow, who will probably arrive before our friend Saufeius; yet it was hardly right to let him go to you without a letter from me. Write to me, as you promise, about my dear Tullia, that is, about Dolabella; about the republic, which I foresee is in great danger; about the Censors, especially what is done about statues, and pictures, whether any proposition is made.⁴ I send this letter on the 15th of October, the day on which, as you say, Cæsar is to bring four legions to Placentia. What, I beseech you, is to become of us? I enjoy my present station in the citadel at Athens.

⁴ It was probably expected that the Censors might introduce some regulations upon these articles, with the view of repressing the luxury of the age.

BOOK VII.

LETTER I.

I SENT some letters by L. Saufeius, one of which was for you:¹ for though I had hardly time to write, yet I did not like that one so intimate should go to you without a letter from me. But, considering the rate that philosophers travel, I imagine this will reach you first. If however you have received that, you will know that I came to Athens the 14th of October; and that upon landing in the Piræus, I received your letter from my friend Acastus, not without uneasiness at your having arrived at Rome with a fever. I was however relieved by hearing from Acastus that you were as much better as I could wish. But I quite shuddered at the information, which your letter brought about Cæsar's legions. I also begged you to take care that the greediness (or, as

¹ This is the last letter of the preceding book.

the Greeks call it, the *philotimia*) of you know whom,² might not injure me; about which I had written to you some time ago. I mentioned that Turannius had misinformed you at Brundisium, as I learned by a letter from that excellent man Xenon. I explained shortly why I had not left my brother in charge of the province. This was the substance of that letter. Now hear the rest. I entreat you by your fortunes, to employ all the affection with which you embrace me, and all your prudence, which I always admire, in taking into consideration the whole of my situation. For I seem to see such a contest; unless the same Providence, which delivered me from the Parthian war better than I dared to hope, should have compassion upon the republic; such I say, as never was before. But this calamity is common to me with every body else; upon this I do not require your advice. That, which is my own affair, I beg you to undertake. Do you perceive how, at your instance, I have attached myself to both parties? And I wish I had from the first attended to your friendly admonition. "But," as Homer says, "your persuasions did not reach my heart; for nothing is sweeter than one's country." At length however you did persuade me to embrace the one, because

² This is evidently said in allusion to *Philotimus*.

he had been so kind to me; the other, because he was so powerful. For I considered that my connexion with Pompeius did not oblige me to transgress against the republic; nor, because I agreed with Cæsar, was I to fight against Pompeius; such was their union. Now, as you shew, and as I plainly see, the utmost contention between them is to be apprehended. And each reckons me of his side, unless one of them feigns. For Pompeius does not doubt (and he judges rightly) of my highly approving his present sentiments with regard to the republic. I have received letters to this effect from both of them, at the same time that you received yours; as if neither esteemed any body more than me. What should I do then? I do not mean when they come to extremities; for if it is to be decided by arms, I am clear that it is better to be conquered with the one, than to conquer with the other; but I speak of the questions which will be agitated at the period of my arrival; whether one, who is absent, be eligible; whether he should not dismiss his army. "Speak, Marcus Tullius." What shall I say? Wait, I beseech you, till I can see Atticus. There is no room for trifling. Shall I oppose Cæsar? Where then is our³ strict attachment? For, I helped to procure him

³ So I understand this, which has usually been otherwise interpreted.

this permission by applying to Cælius the Tribune of the people at the request of Pompeius himself⁴ at Ravenna. "Of Pompeius?" Even of our Cnæus, in that famous third consulate. Should I now change my sentiments? "I have too much respect, (not only for Pompeius, but) for the Trojan men and women. Polydamus will be the first to reproach me."⁵ Who? You yourself, who are used to commend both my actions, and my writings. I have escaped this blow during the two preceding consulates of the Marcelli, when Cæsar's province was taken into consideration. Now I fall into the very crisis. There let any blockhead give his opinion first; I am mightily pleased to be engaged about my triumph, and to have so good an excuse for remaining without the city. Yet people will try to elicit my sentiments. You will perhaps laugh at what I am going to say. How I should wish even now to be staying in my province! though nothing could be more disagreeable. For, by the by, I would have you know, that all those first appearances, which in your letters you commended to the skies, have dissolved away. The practice of virtue itself is not an easy thing; but how

⁴ It is most consonant with what follows to understand this of Pompeius.

⁵ This is quoted from Homer. The same verses are found in the vth Letter of Book II.

difficult is a continual pretence of it! For when I thought it right and honorable, out of the yearly sums, which had been voted for my expenses, to leave a yearly sum for the Quæstor C. Cælius, and to bring into the treasury a thousand Sestertia (£8000); my attendants murmur'd, thinking it ought all to have been divided amongst them; as if I should be more attentive to the treasuries of the Phrygians and Cilicians, than to our own. But they did not move me: for my own applause has the greatest weight with me. Yet there is nothing that could be done for the honor of any person, which I have omitted. But this, as Thucydides says, is an excursion from the subject, not without its use. But pray consider my situation; how, in the first place, I may retain the favor of Cæsar; then about my triumph; which, unless the times of the republic prevent it, I conceive to be easily attainable. I judge so both from the letters of my friends, and from the Supplication, when he, who did not vote for it, voted more than if he had decreed the greatest triumph.⁶ With him Favonius, my familiar friend, was one who concurred in opinion; another was Hirrus, who was angry with me. Yet Cato was present at the drawing up of the

⁶ Cato resisted the application for Cicero's Supplication; but at the same time spake of him in the most honorable terms.

decree, and wrote to me most pleasantly upon the subject of his vote. But Cæsar in congratulating with me about the Supplication, exults upon the opinion delivered by Cato; but mentions nothing of what Cato said upon the occasion; only that he voted against the Supplication. I come back to Hirrus. You had begun to reconcile him to me: go on with it. You have Scrofa, you have Silius to assist you. I have already written to them, and to Hirrus himself. For he had kindly informed them, that he could have stopt it, but did not choose to do so: but that he had concurred with Cato my particular friend, when he made such honourable mention of me; and that, I had not written to him, though I wrote to every body else. He said truly: for to him alone, and to Crassipes, I had not written. So much then for public affairs. Let us return home. I wish to separate myself from that man.⁷ He has strangely perplexed my accounts, a very Lartidius; “but let us leave what is already done, however we may regret it.” Let us dispatch the rest; and this first, in which I have some care added to my affliction; but this Præcian affair,⁸ whatever it is, I should be sorry to have confounded with those accounts of mine which he has in his

⁷ Philotimus.

⁸ See Book vi. Letter ix.

hands. I have written to Terentia,⁹ and likewise to him, that I should put together in your hands whatever money I could collect, for the equipment of my expected triumph. This, I conceive, must be unobjectionable. But as they please. Take upon you this care also,¹⁰ how we may endeavour to accomplish what you propose. This both you have pointed out in some letter, (from Epirus was it? or from Athens?) and I will assist you in it.

LETTER II.

I ARRIVED at Brundisium the 24th of November, after as favorable a voyage, as your own: so charmingly did a gentle gale waft us from Epirus. The words have run into a verse, which, if you please, you may impose upon some young man for your own. I am much concerned at your illness; for your letters show that you are very far from well; and I, who know your fortitude, suspect it must be

⁹ Philotimus was Terentia's freedman, and perhaps involved with her in embarrassing Cicero's accounts.

¹⁰ I conceive the conclusion of this letter to relate altogether to some new subject mentioned previously by Atticus, and not improbably concerning Q. Cicero, or Pomponia, whose disagreement is mentioned, Book vi. Letter ii.

something serious, that obliges you to give way, and almost overpowers you; though your servant Pamphilus assured me that the alternate fits of your ague had left you, and that the others were become less severe: and Terentia, who came to the gate of Brundisium at the same time that I entered the harbour, and who met me in the forum, said that L. Pontius had informed her in Trebulanum, that these also had left you; which, if it be so, is what I exceedingly wish, and hope indeed that your prudence and temperance may have effected. I come now to your letters of which I have received six hundred¹ at once, each more acceptable than the former, and all in your own hand. I used to love Alexis's hand writing, because it bare so near a resemblance to your own; yet I loved it not, as shewing that you were not well. The mention of his name brings to my mind Tiro,² whom I have left sick at Patræ; a young man, as you know; and add, if you please, an honest one; I know nothing better. Therefore I miss him sadly: and

¹ It has been repeatedly seen in former letters that this was a familiar expression for any great number.

² Tiro was Cicero's amanuensis, as Alexis was Atticus's. In Book vi. Letter vi. we find him left sick at Issus. It is to be supposed that he afterwards proceeded as far as Patra in the Peloponesus, and was there again laid up under the care of Curius.

though he did not think himself dangerously ill, yet I cannot help being anxious about him, and place my greatest hope in the attention of M. Curius, which Tiro has signified to me by letter, and many persons have mentioned. Curius himself is sensible how much you wish him to be in my esteem; and indeed I am highly pleased with him; for he possesses a natural urbanity of manners which is very amiable. He has a Will sealed with the seals of the Ciceros³ and those of the Prætorian⁴ Cohort, in which he has openly bequeathed to you a pound, to me a half-penny.⁵ I was sumptuously entertained by Alexion⁶ at Actium in Corcyra.⁷ There was no resisting Cicero's wish of seeing Thyamis⁸. I am re-

³ The sons of Marcus and Quintus.

⁴ This seems to have been a sort of Guard of Honor.

⁵ This passage is attended with great obscurity, owing apparently to its being a jest, which is no longer intelligible. I suspect the point of it may consist in some provincial misapplication of the terms *libella* and *teruncius*, instead of *as* and *triens*, whereby Cicero and Atticus might become entitled to a mere trifle, instead of inheriting the estate. And if the text *de Tortorio* be correct, it may be an intended blunder of the same kind.

⁶ Alexion was a physician, Book xv. Letter 1.

⁷ The place called Actium of Corcyra, was different from that afterwards distinguished by the naval action between Augustus and Antonius.

⁸ Thyamis was a river of Epirus, where Atticus's property was situated.

joiced that you take pleasure in your little girl, and that the affection of parents towards their children is proved to you to be natural.⁹ For without this there can be no natural union between man and man; and if this is taken away, the very intercourse of life is destroyed. May it turn out well, said Carneades grossly; yet more modestly than our friend Lucius, and Patron; who in referring every thing to their own gratification, do not¹⁰ think any thing whatever should be done for the sake of another: and when they say that the reason why a man ought to be good, is that he may escape harm, not because it is naturally right; they do not perceive that they are describing a crafty man, instead of a good man. But this I believe is in those books,¹¹ which you encourage me by praising. I return to my subject. I was eagerly expecting the letter, which you had sent by Philoxenus; for you had mentioned that it contained an account of your conversation with Pompeius at Naples; this Patron delivered to me at Brundisium. I believe he had received it at Corcyra. Nothing could be more acceptable. For it related to

⁹ This is said in opposition to the tenets of Atticus's philosophy, which referred every thing to pleasure.

¹⁰ Both the sense, and the subsequent member of the sentence, require that it should be read *non putent*.

¹¹ Cicero's treatise *De Republica*.

the Republic; to the opinion which he entertained of my integrity; to the kindness which he shewed in his discourse about the triumph. But what pleased me most of all was, that I understood you had visited him for the purpose of discovering his disposition towards me: this, I say, was the circumstance most agreeable to me. With respect to the triumph however, I never had any wish for it before that barefaced letter of Bibulus, which was followed by so full a supplication. Had he really done, what he described, I should rejoice, and favor his pretensions. But now, that he, who never set his foot beyond the gate so long as the enemy was on this side the Euphrates, should be loaded with honors; and that I, in whose troops his army placed their whole reliance, should not attain the same; this is a disgrace to us; to us, I say, including you. I shall therefore make every exertion, and hope I shall succeed. If you were well, I might already have had some particulars investigated: but I trust you will soon be well. I love you for this Numerian remnant.¹² I want to know what is become of Hortensius;¹³ what Cato is doing, who has in truth been shamefully hos-

¹² The same expression is used Book IV. Letter VIII. and Book VI. Letter VIII.

¹³ This must be understood of the son; for the father was already dead.

tile towards me. He gave me his testimony for integrity, justice, lenity, fidelity, which I did not ask; what I did ask, he refused. How therefore does Cæsar, in the same letter, in which he congratulates me and promises every thing, exult in the injury I have received from Cato's ingratitude? Yet this very man voted to Bibulus a supplication of 20 days. Pardon me; I cannot bear this, nor will I. I wish to reply to all your letters; but there is no occasion, since I shall see you so soon. But as to that business of Chrysippus (for about the other, a mere mechanic, I was less surprised); but for Chrysippus, whom on account of some little proficiencie in learning I entertained with kindness, and had in esteem; that he should leave the boy without my knowledge! I omit many other things which I hear of him; I omit his thefts; but his running away I cannot bear; there is nothing that I think more wicked. I have accordingly followed the old principle, as it is said, of the Prætor Drusus, in the case of one who would not swear to observe the same conditions after he had obtained his liberty; I do not acknowledge them to be free: especially as there was nobody present by whom their liberation could properly be asserted. You will receive this as you shall think fit. I assent to your judgment. To one most eloquent

letter of yours, I have not replied, in which you speak of the dangers of the republic. What should I reply? I was exceedingly disturbed. But the Parthians do nothing to occasion me much alarm, and have suddenly left Bibulus half alive.

LETTER III.

THE sixth of December I came to Herculanium, and there read your letter, which Philotimus delivered to me. The moment I saw it, I had the satisfaction of recognising your own hand writing; afterwards I was exceedingly delighted with the accurate information it contained. With respect to the first point, in which you say you differ from Dicaearchus;¹ though I had earnestly requested (and that with your concurrence) that I might not be obliged to remain in the province longer than one year; yet this was not accomplished by our endeavours. For you must know that not a word was mentioned in the Senate about any of us, who held provincial Governments, remaining beyond the time appointed by the de-

¹ Dicaearchus maintained the duty of active exertion. See Book II. Letter XVI.

creed of the Senate. So that I cannot justly be charged with any blame for having left the province earlier than might perhaps have been desirable. But what if it be better as it is? This has often appeared to be the case on other occasions, as well as on this. For whether things can be brought to an agreement; or to the discomfiture of the evil-disposed: in either case I should be glad to give my assistance, or at least not to be out of the way. But if the good are overpowered, wherever I might be, I should be overpowered with them. Therefore the quickness of my return ought not to be regretted. And if the idea of a triumph had not been thrown in my way, which you also approve, truly you should not now much want that character, which is drawn in my sixth book.² For what should I do to satisfy you, who have devoured those books? I should not even now hesitate to lay aside this object,³ great as it is, if it be more proper to do so. But it is impossible to pursue both at the same time, and while I serve my ambitious views in a triumph, to exert a free spirit in the cause of the republic. Do not however doubt but that whichever is the more honorable, that will be to me the more desirable. For, what you seem to recommend, that I should continue to

² Of his treatise *De Republica*.

³ His triumph.

hold my command and remain out of the city,⁴ both as being safer for myself, and as affording the means of rendering service to the republic; how this is, we will consider when we meet. It is a thing that admits of deliberation; though in great measure I agree with you. You do well in not doubting of my affection towards the republic; and you judge rightly that he⁵ has by no means acted liberally towards me, considering my services, and his profusion to other people: and you justly explain the reason of this; which entirely agrees with what you say has been done in the case of Fabius and Caninius. But if this were not so, and he had devoted himself wholly to me; yet that guardian⁶ divinity of the city, which you mention, would compel me to remember its noble inscription; and would not permit me to imitate Volcacijs, or Servius, with whom you are satisfied; but would call upon me to feel and to act, as became me. And this I would readily do, if it might be done in a different manner from what is now required. For at this time people are

⁴ The continuing out of the city was necessary so long as he retained his command.

⁵ Cæsar.

⁶ This is generally supposed to allude to an image of Minerva deposited in the Capitol by Cicero previous to his exile, and bearing an inscription "The guardian of the City."

contending for their own power, at the risk of the state. If it is in defence of the republic; why was it not defended at the time when this very man was consul? And, the year following, why was not I defended, with whose cause the safety of the republic was identified? Why was his command prolonged? or why in that manner? Why was such a struggle made that the ten Tribunes of the people should propose the decree for his eligibility in his absence? By these means he is become so powerful, that now it is left to a single⁷ citizen to resist him. Who I wish had never given him such power; instead of now opposing him, when he is so strong. But since affairs are brought to this situation, I shall not, as you say, "look out for the vessel of the Atridæ:"⁸ the only vessel for me, shall be that, which is steered by Pompeius. When you ask, what must be done if I am called upon—"Speak, M. Tullius; concisely." I assent to Cn. Pompeius. Yet privately I shall exhort Pompeius to peace. For I am convinced that affairs are in the greatest danger. You, who are in the city, know more. But this I see, that we have to do with a man of the boldest and readiest spirit: that all convicts, all disgraced persons, and all

⁷ Pompeius.

⁸ In which he might sail with most security. The original is part of a Greek verse.

that deserve to be convicted and disgraced, incline to that party; almost all the youth, all the city rabble, the powerful tribunes, with the addition of C. Cassius; all who are oppressed with debt, whom I understand to be more than I had supposed. That cause wants nothing but a good cause; it has every thing else in abundance. In such a state every body ought to exert himself to prevent a decision by arms; the event of which is always uncertain, but in the present case rather to be dreaded in favor of one party.⁹ Bibulus has left his province, and deputed the command on Veiento. He will not, as I hear, hurry himself in his departure. Cato, when he got him his honors, declared that the only persons, towards whom he bare no jealousy, were those, whose influence could receive little, or no increase. I come now to my private concerns: for I have mostly replied to your letter on the subject of the republic, and to that from your villa, and to that which you wrote afterwards. I come to my private concerns. One word also about Cælius. He is so far from shaking my opinion, that I think he will himself repent of having changed his own. But how is it that Luceius's buildings should have been adjudged to him? I am surprised that you should have omitted to mention it. About Philotimus, I

⁹ Cæsar's party.

will do as you advise. I did not however expect from him at this time the accounts which he gave you ; but the remainder, which he desired me in Tusculanum to enter into my book with my own hand, and of which he also gave me a memorandum in Asia, written with his hand. If he made this good, he would himself owe me as much, or more, than what he there declares to be the amount of my debt. But hereafter, if only the condition of the Republic permit, I will not subject myself to accusations of this kind : not indeed that I had before been negligent ; but I was occupied with the multitude of my friends. I shall be glad therefore to avail myself of your assistance and advice, as you promise ; and hope I shall not be giving you much trouble. Respecting the counsellors¹⁰ of my cohort, there is no cause for uneasiness. For they corrected themselves on observing my integrity. But nobody vexed me more, than one whom you least suspect. His behaviour was at first excellent ; and is so now : but at the moment of my departure he intimated that he had hoped to receive something ; and he did not restrain that co-

¹⁰ Serperastra are described to be instruments for keeping straight the legs of children, who are disposed to be crooked : hence it may perhaps be adopted to signify a council of officers appointed as a check upon the commander, to keep him straight.

vetousness, which had gradually influenced his mind. But he soon recovered himself; and overcome by my honorable services towards him, he esteemed them of more value than any sum of money. I have received from Curius a Will,¹¹ which I carry with me. I have been informed of Hortensius's legacies.¹² I now want to know what sort of a man the son is, and what it is that he intends to sell by auction. For if Cælius has got possession of the house at the Flumentan Gate, I know not why I may not take for myself that at Puteoli. I come now to the word Piræea, in which I am more reprehensible, that being a Roman I should have written Piræea,¹³ not Piræcus (as all our people call it); than that I should have added the preposition *into*; for I have not considered it as the name of a town, but of a district.¹⁴ Yet our friend Dionysius, who is with me, and Nicias the Coan, did not think Piræea to be a town. But I will see about it. My error, if it be one, consists in my having spoken of it not as a town, but as

¹¹ See the preceding letter.

¹² This must mean the legacies of the elder Hortensius, which the son had to pay by the Will of his father.

¹³ See Book vi. Letter ix.

¹⁴ It is well known that the Romans did not insert the prepositions in speaking of going to, or from, any town; though they did express them when speaking of a country.

a district. And I have followed, I do not say Cæcilius, "In the morning when I went out of the port into Piræus;" for he is no authority for Latinity; but Terentius, whose comedies, on account of the elegance of their language, were supposed to be written by C. Lælius; "Yesterday I, and some other young men, went together into Piræus." And again; "the merchant added this, that she had been taken out of Sunium." For if we choose to call districts towns, Sunium is as much a town, as Piræus. But, as you are a grammarian, if you can solve this question, you will relieve me from much embarrassment. Cæsar writes in a kind manner to me: Balbus does the same in his name. My resolution is, never to stir an inch from the path of honor. But you know how much remains due to him.¹⁵ Do you think then it is to be feared that any body should object that debt to me, if I seem to act feebly? or that he should demand it, if I act firmly? What do you find in answer to this? Let us pay it, you say. Well then, I will borrow from Cælius.¹⁶ Yet I would have you consider this well; for I imagine if ever I should speak with energy in the Senate in behalf of the republic, that Tartessian friend of yours¹⁷ will call to me, as I go out, "Pray

¹⁵ Cæsar.

¹⁶ Probably some money scrivener.

¹⁷ Balbus, a native of Tartessus in Spain.

direct the money to be provided." Have I any thing more to say? Yes, my son-in-law is agreeable to me, to Tullia, to Terentia. He has as much wit, and kindness, as you could wish. As to other things, to which you are no stranger, we must bear them. For you know about whom we inquired; who all, except him with whom I negotiated through you, think to make me responsible: for nobody will trust them. But of these matters when we meet; for they require a long talk. My hope of Tiro's recovery rests in M. Curius, to whom I have written that such service would be particularly acceptable to you. Dated the 9th of December, from Pontius's house at Trebulanum.

LETTER IV.

DIONYSIUS is impatient to see you. I have accordingly sent him not with a very good grace; but there was no refusing it. I have found him learned, which I knew before; and besides, of correct behaviour, ready to oblige, studious of my reputation, careful, and (that I may not seem to be giving the character of a freedman) in short an excellent man. I saw Pompeius the 10th of December. We were together perhaps two hours. He seemed to be

much pleased at my arrival. He encouraged me in the affair of my triumph, and promised to do his part; advising me not to go to the Senate till I should have finished this business, from fear of alienating any of the tribunes by the sentiments that might be delivered. In short, as far as words, nothing could be fuller of kindness. On the subject of the Republic, he talked to me as if a war was inevitable. There appeared to be no hope of accommodation. His opinion of Cæsar's hostility had lately been confirmed by the arrival of Hirtius from Cæsar, with whom he was very intimate: for he had not called upon Pompeius; but having arrived on the evening of December 6th, and Balbus having engaged to go to Scipio before it was light upon this whole business, he returned late at night to Cæsar. This he considered as a plain sign of hostility. In short, nothing else affords me comfort, but that I cannot suppose he, to whom even his enemies had given a second Consulate, to whom fortune had given the greatest power, would be so mad, as to bring these advantages to the hazard of a contest. But if he venture to rush on, I confess I am full of fears, which I dare not commit to paper. As things now are, I think of getting to Rome the 5th of January.

LETTER V.

I HAVE received several of your letters at the same time ; and though I had later intelligence from people who came to meet me, yet they were very acceptable, as they shewed your attention and kindness. I am concerned at your illness ; and perceive that you suffer still greater uneasiness from Pilia's being attacked in a similar manner. Apply yourselves, both of you, to your recovery. I see the interest you take about Tiro. But, though he is of wonderful service to me, when he is well, in every species either of business, or of study ; yet I am more anxious for his recovery on account of his own kind and modest disposition, than for any advantage towards myself. Philogenes has never said any thing to me about Luscienus. Dionysius will inform you of other matters. I am surprised that your sister should not have come to Arcanum.¹ I am not sorry that you approve of my determination respecting Chrysippus.² I have no intention of going to Tusculanum at this time. It is out of the way for those who might come to meet me, and has some other inconveniences. But I mean to proceed

¹ A place belonging to Q. Cicero.

² See Letter II.

from Formianum to Terracina the 31st of December; thence to the extremity of the Pontine marsh; thence to Pompeius's villa at Albanum; and so to Rome the 3d of January, my birth day. I daily become more alarmed about the Republic. For even the good, as it is supposed, are not agreed. How many Knights, how many Senators have I seen, who severely blame, among other things, this journey of Pompeius? We have great need of peace. From a victory must arise many evils, and most assuredly that of a tyrant. But these things we shall very soon have an opportunity of discussing in person. There is now absolutely nothing that I can write about. Not about the Republic, because our information is the same: and our domestic affairs are known to both. It only remains to joke, if this³ man permit. For my part I should think it wiser to grant him what he asks, than to meet in arms. It is too late now to resist one, whom we have for ten years fostered against ourselves. What do you advise then? you will say. Nothing but with your concurrence; nor indeed any thing before my business⁴ is either concluded, or laid aside. Take care then to get well; and shake off at length this ague with the diligence you so highly possess.

³ Cæsar.

⁴ His triumph.

LETTER VI.

I HAVE absolutely nothing to say to you. You are acquainted with every thing: nor have I any thing to expect from you. Let me then only keep up my custom of not suffering any body to go to you without a letter. I am in great fear about the Republic; and have hitherto scarcely found any body who did not think it better to grant Cæsar what he demanded, than to go to war. His demands are indeed greater than was supposed. But why should we now first resist him? For this is not a greater evil, than when we prolonged his government for five years; or when we introduced the law permitting him to be a candidate for the Consulship in his absence. Unless forsooth we then gave him these arms, that we might now fight with him well prepared. You will say, "What then will be your opinion?" Not what I shall say. For I shall think that every thing ought to be done, to avoid a battle: I shall say the same as Pompeius. Nor shall I do this with an abject spirit: but this again is a very great evil to the state, and in some measure peculiarly improper for me, that I should appear to differ from Pompeius in so important a cause.

LETTER VII.

“DIONYSIUS, an excellent man, as I have also found him, and very learned, and full of affection towards you, arrived in Rome the 18th of December, and delivered to me your letter.” These are the very expressions contained in your letter about Dionysius. You do not add—“and he returns thanks to you:” But he certainly ought: and such is your kindness, that, if he had done so, you would have mentioned it. I do not however recant the testimony given of him in my former letter. Let him therefore be called an excellent man. For even this is well done, that he should have given me this means of thoroughly knowing him. Philogenes has informed you truly. He had provided what he ought:¹ and I desired him to make use of the money till it should be wanted. He has accordingly had the use of it thirteen months. I hope Pontinius is well; but from what you mention of his having entered the city, I am fearful what may be the matter.² For he would not have done so, but for some important reason. As the 2d of

¹ See Book v. Letter XIII.

² Pontinius was one of Cicero's lieutenants; and it was to be expected that he would have remained out of the city to attend Cicero in his triumph.

January is the day of the Compitalia,³ I do not care to go to Albanum⁴ that day, from fear of being troublesome to the family; I shall therefore go on the third; and thence to the city on the fourth. I do not know on what day your fit recurs; but I should be sorry to have you disturbed under the inconvenience of your illness. Respecting the honor of my triumph, unless Cæsar employ any secret measures through his tribunes, every thing else seems to be tranquil. Most tranquil certainly is my own mind, which looks upon the whole with indifference; and the more so, because I hear from many persons that Pompeius and his council have determined to send me into Sicily, as holding a command. This is worthy of Abdera.⁵ For the Senate has passed no decree, and the people no law, for my having a command in Sicily. But if the republic gives this authority to Pompeius, why should he send me, rather than any private person? If therefore this command is likely to give me trouble, I shall avail myself of the first gate I see.⁶ For as to what you say of there being a

³ This was a Roman festival, and holiday for the slaves. It is mentioned before. Book II. Letter III.

⁴ The estate of Pompeius. See Letter V.

⁵ The land of fools.

⁶ Shall enter Rome immediately, and thereby abdicate my command.

wonderful expectation of my arrival, though at the same time none of the good, or moderately good, entertain any doubt of my sentiments; I do not understand whom you call good: for my own part I know none, at least if we look for whole orders of men; for undoubtedly there are individuals who are good. But in civil disseusions we ought to look for ranks and orders of good men. Do you think then the Senate is good, which has left the Provinces without commanders? For Curio could never have maintained his purpose,⁷ if any attempt had been made to resist him. But the Senate would not follow that advice; from whence it happened that no successor to Cæsar was appointed. Or the public renters? Who were never steady, but now are quite in Cæsar's interests. Or the bankers? Or farmers? Who have most reason to wish for peace; unless you suppose those people to be afraid of living under kingly government, who have never objected to it, provided they could live in peace. What then? Must we admit the pretensions of one absent,⁸ who still keeps his army after

⁷ This Curio was a tribune, and creature of Cæsar, and therefore stopped the appointment of the new Governors to secure Cæsar from a successor.

⁸ That Cæsar, though absent, might yet be eligible to the Consulship; for had he come up to Rome, he must have resigned his command.

the day appointed by law is past? I say at once, of nobody absent. For if this is granted, the other follows of course. Do we admit a government of ten years? and so ample? Then we must admit also my banishment, and the loss of the Campanian territory, and the adoption of a patrician⁹ by a plebeian, of a man of Cadiz¹⁰ by one of Mitylene; and we must admit the wealth of Labienus and Mamurra, and the gardens and Tuseulan villa of Balbus. The source of all these is the same. He should have been resisted while he was weak, and the thing was easy. Now there are eleven legions, as many cavalry as he pleases, people beyond the Po, people from the city, so many tribunes of the people, such an abandoned body of young men, a leader of such authority, such boldness; this is the man with whom we must fight, or admit his pretensions, which are also sanctioned by the law. "Fight," you say, "rather than be a slave." For what object? That if you are conquered, you may be proscribed? If you conquer, that you may still be a slave? What then, say you, will you do? The same as cattle, which being scattered about follow the herds of their own species. As one ox follows the others, so shall I follow the good,

⁹ As in the case of Clodius.

¹⁰ Balbus was a native of Tartessus near Cadiz, and had been adopted by Theophanes of Mitylene.

though they rush on to their destruction. I see clearly what is best,¹¹ in our sad straits. For nobody can say, when we come to arms, what will be the issue: but every body knows that, if the good are beaten, this man will neither be more sparing of the blood of the principal citizens, than Cinna was; nor more moderate, than Sulla, in plundering the rich. I have been a long time talking politics, and should continue, if my lamp were not going out. To be short,—“speak, Marcus Tullius.” I side with Pompeius; that is, with T. Pomponius. Pray make my compliments to that nice boy Alexis, unless perhaps in my absence he is become a young man; for he seemed to be growing up very fast.

LETTER VIII.

WHAT need of such strong affirmation on the subject of Dionysius? Would not a mere nod from you secure my belief? But your silence gave me the greater suspicion, both because you generally employ your testimony to consolidate friendships, and I heard that he had spoken differently of me to other people. But I am perfectly satisfied that it is as you say.

¹¹ Namely, peace. See Letter III.

I therefore continue to regard him, as you would have me. I had also marked the day of your ague from one of your letters written at the commencement of the illness, and I perceived that you might, if there was occasion, come to me in Albanum without inconvenience the 3d of January. But pray do nothing that is inconsistent with your health. For what signifies one or two days? I understand that, by Livia's Will, Dolabella with two co-heirs succeeds to a third part of her property, but on the condition of changing his name. It is a question of propriety whether it be right for a young man of noble birth to change his name for a lady's Will. But we shall be able to determine this more philosophically, when we know to about how much this third of the third part of her property amounts. What you thought would be the case, that I should see Pompeius before I got to Rome, has accordingly happened. For on the 27th of December he came up to me at Lavernium. We came together to Formiæ, and conversed privately from two in the afternoon till dusk. In answer to your enquiry, if there is any hope of accommodation; so far as I have learnt from Pompeius's full and accurate discourse, there is not even any inclination towards it. For his opinion is, that if Cæsar should be made Consul, even with the dismissal of his army, the govern-

ment will be overturned. He even thinks, that, when he is acquainted with the active preparations against him, he will neglect the Consulate this year, and prefer keeping his army and his province. But if he should be driven to madness, he held him in great contempt, and relied upon his own forces and those of the republic. In truth, though that saying often occurred to me, that the fortune of war was common; yet it was some alleviation of my solicitude, to hear a brave and experienced man, and one of the greatest authority, politically expose the dangers of a false peace. We had in our possession Antonius's speech pronounced the 23d of December, which contained an accusation of Pompeius from the time of his entering into public life, complaining of those who had been condemned, and of the terror of his arms. Upon which he observed; "What think you that Cæsar himself will do, if he should obtain the government of the state; when his weak and needy Quæstor dares to utter such expressions?" In short, he appeared not only not to wish for such a peace, but even to dread it. Yet the apprehension of abandoning the city shakes, as I conceive, this resolution.¹ It is a great vexation to me, that I must pay off my debt to

¹ The text is obscure, and perhaps faulty.

Cæsar, and transfer to that quarter the materials of my triumph. For it is unseemly to be indebted to one of an opposite party. But of this, and many other things, when we meet.

LETTER IX.

“AM I,” say you, “to receive a letter from you every day?” Yes, if I find any body to whom I can give it. “But you are on the point of being here yourself.” It will then be time enough to stop, when I arrive. I find there is one of your letters, which has never reached me; owing to my friend L. Quintius, who was bringing it, being robbed and wounded at Basilus’s monument. Consider therefore if it contained any thing of importanee for me to know. At the same time resolve me this political problem. Since one of these things must take place; either, 1st, that Cæsar should be deemed eligible, while he still retains his army, through the Senate, or through the Tribunes of the people: or, 2dly, that Cæsar must be persuaded to give up his province, and his army, in order to become Consul: or, 3dly, if this cannot be done, the Comitia may be held without any consideration of him; yet with his suffering it, and retaining his province: or, 4thly, if through the interference of the

Tribunes he does not suffer the Comitia to proceed, but yet remains quiet; the business may be brought to an interregnum: or, 5thly, if, in order to enforce his claims, he should bring up his army; we must then contend in arms: and 6thly, he may either begin the contest immediately, before we are sufficiently prepared; or, 7thly, after his friends have preferred at the Comitia their request for his eligibility, and have been refused: he may also, 8thly, proceed to arms either for that single reason, that his claims are not admitted; or, 9thly, for an additional reason, if it happen that any Tribune, in his attempt to interrupt the Senate, or to excite the populace, should be marked, or circumvented by a decree of the Senate, or removed, or expelled, or should flee to him under pretence of being expelled: again, when war is actually begun, we must either, 10thly, remain in possession of the city; or, 11thly, we must leave it, in order to intercept his supplies of provisions and troops. Tell me then of these evils, to one of which we must certainly submit, which you think the least. You will say; “that he should be persuaded to deliver up his army in order to be made Consul.” It is indeed a measure of such a kind, that if he consents, nothing can be said against it; and if he does not obtain the admission of his claims, I shall be surprised if he does not do it. Yet there are some persons, who think nothing is

more to be dreaded, than that he should be Consul. "But so," you will say, "is better, than with his army." Certainly. But this very *so*, may well make one exclaim, O what a great calamity! and it admits of no remedy; we must submit at his discretion. Think of him a second time Consul, whom you remember in his former Consulate. At that time, in his weakness, he out-matched the whole Republic; what do you expect now? And when he is Consul, Pompeius is resolved to be in Spain. This is a sad state; that the very thing, which is most to be depreated, cannot be refused; and if he does it, he will presently attain the highest favor amongst all good men. But setting aside this, to which they say he can never be brought; of the remaining evils which is the worst? To yield to what Pompeius calls his most impudent demands? For what can be more impudent? You have held the province for ten years, granted you not by the Senate, but by yourself, through violence and faction. The period has elapsed, not of the law, but of your self will; but suppose it to be of the law; a decree is past for appointing a successor; you stop it, and say, "Have consideration for me." Have you for us. Would you keep your army longer than the people granted it? and against the will of the Senate? "You must fight then, unless you agree to it." With a good hope, as Pom-

peius says, either of conquering, or of dying in liberty. If now we must fight, the time depends upon accidents; the manner, on future events; on this subject therefore I do not call upon you. If you have any thing to offer in reply to what I have said, let me hear it. I am tortured with anxiety day and night.

LETTER X.

I HAVE suddenly come to the resolution of setting out before light, to avoid observation and discourse, especially as my licitors come with their laurels.¹ For the rest, truly I neither know what I am doing, or what I shall do; so much am I disturbed with the rash determination² of our general, who seems to have lost his senses. How can I advise you, who am myself waiting for your advice? What has been Cnæus's object, or what is now his object, I cannot tell, cramped as he is within the towns, and appearing stupified. If he remains in Italy, we shall all be together; but if

¹ The fasces born by the licitors, or sergeants, attending one who had been saluted Emperor, were bound with laurel till they entered the city. See Book v. Letter xx.

² Pompeius hastily left Rome, and retired towards Brundisium.

he retires, our conduct must be a subject of consideration. Hitherto certainly, if I have any understanding, every thing has been done foolishly and incautiously. Pray write to me very often, whatever comes into your mind.

LETTER XI.

WHAT, I beseech you, is all this? or what are people about? For I am quite in the dark. "We have got possession," you say, "of Cingulum; we have lost Anconis; Labienus has deserted from Cæsar." Are we speaking of a Roman general; or of Hannibal? O wretched man, and void of understanding,¹ who has never known even a shadow of what is truly honorable. Yet he professes to do all this for honor's sake. But how can there be honor, where there is not rectitude? Or is it right then to have an army without any public appointment? To occupy the towns of Roman citizens, in order to get a readier access to his own country? To cancel debts, to recall exiles, to institute six hundred other wicked practices, "in order to obtain, as Eteocles says² the greatest kingdom of the gods?" I envy him not his fortune. I would assuredly prefer a single

¹ Cæsar.

² In the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides.

basking³ with you in your Lucretine sun, before all kingdoms of such a kind: or rather I would die a thousand times, before I would suffer such a thought to enter my mind. "What "if you should wish it," you say? "For every "body is at liberty to wish." But I consider this very wish a thing more wretched than being crucified. The only thing that is worse, is to get what you so wish. But enough of this: for I am too ready to dwell upon these troubles with you: let us return to our own general. Tell me then, what think you of this resolution of Pompeius? I mean his leaving the city. I am quite at a loss: nothing seems more absurd. That you should leave the city? Would you then do the same if the Gauls should come?⁴ The Republic, he says, does not consist in its walls, but in all that we hold dear. Themistocles did the same.⁵ For a single city was unable to withstand the united flood of foreign nations. But Pericles did not so, fifty years afterwards, when besides the walls he kept nothing. And our own people formerly, when the rest of the city was cap-

³ The ancient Romans used to have places appropriated to walking or conversation, which were open to the sun, and screened from cold winds.

⁴ This evidently alludes to the city of Rome having formerly been taken by the Gauls.

⁵ Upon the invasion of the Persians.

tured, still kept possession of the citadel: "so
" have we heard the deeds of ancient heroes."
Yet by the grief of the towns, and the con-
versation of those I meet, this resolution seems
likely to produce some effect. There is a
wonderful complaint (I know not if it is made
there; but you will tell me) that the city should
be without magistrates, without a Senate. In
short, Pompeius by his flight creates a strong
sensation. So that the ease is quite altered,
and now it is thought that nothing should be
granted to Cæsar. Explain to me how all this
is. I have a charge attended with little trouble:
for Pompeius wishes me to have the superin-
tendance of all this district of Campania, and
the sea coast; so that the levies of troops, and
all business of importance, may be referred to
me. I therefore expect to be unsettled. I
imagine by this time you see what are Cæsar's
exertions, what is the disposition of the people,
what is the state of the whole business: about
all these things I should be glad if you would
write to me, and (as they are liable to change)
as often as you can. For I feel some comfort
both whilst I am writing to you, and whilst I
am reading your letters.

LETTER XII.

I HAVE hitherto received but one letter from you, dated the 20th,¹ in which it is mentioned that you had previously dispatched another, which I have not received. But I beg you will write as often as possible, not only if you have learned, or heard any thing, but even if you suspect it; especially what you think I ought, or ought not, to do. As to what you ask me, that I should take care to inform you what Pompeius is doing; I do not believe he knows himself, and certainly nobody else does. I saw the Cónsul Lentulus at Formiæ the 22d, and saw Libo. Every thing is full of alarm and confusion. Pompeius is gone to Larinum; for there the troops are, and at Luceria, and Theanum, and other parts of Apulia. Thence it is uncertain whether he means to stop any where, or to cross the sea. If he remains, I doubt whether he can rely upon his army: if he goes away; what should I do? whither should I go? or where should I stay? I know not. For I apprehend he, whose tyranny you dread, will act most sadly. Neither the adjournment of public business, nor the flight of the Senate

¹ Probably the 20th of January.

and Magistrates, nor the secret² treasury will stop him. But this, as you say, we shall soon see. In the mean time you must excuse me for writing to you so much, and so often. For I feel some consolation from it, and besides am desirous of eliciting your letters in return, especially your advice, what I should do, or how I should conduct myself, and whether I should give myself up wholly to the party. I am not deterred by danger; but am distracted with grief. That every thing should be conducted with such want of judgment, or so contrary to my own judgment! Or should I hesitate, and turn back, and join those who are in possession, and enjoy the smiles of fortune? "I have too much respect for the "Trojans,"³ and am prevented by the duty not only of a citizen but of a friend. But then I am unmanned by commiseration for the children. Write therefore something to me in my trouble, notwithstanding you feel the same distress; but especially, if Pompeius should retire out of Italy, tell me what you think I

² The treasury was within the temple of Saturn, and there appears to have been one part of it reserved for the extraordinary exigencies of the state. Livius 27, 10. This is what is probably intended in this place. See Letter XXI.

³ This quotation from Homer occurs before. Book II. Letter v.

ought to do. Manius Lepidus indeed (for we were together) has resolved to go no further than that; L. Torquatus says the same. I have many circumstances, and among the rest my lictors, to embarrass me. I never met with any thing less capable of being disentangled. Therefore I ask for nothing certain, but only for what you think; and in short I wish to know your very doubtings. It is pretty certain that Labienus has left Cæsar. If it had happened that on coming to Rome he could have found the Magistrates and the Senate there, it might have been of great service to our cause; as by it he would appear to pass sentence upon a friend for the sake of the republic. This appears indeed now; but is of less service; for there is nobody to serve; and I imagine he already repents of the step he has taken; unless perhaps the very circumstance of his having left him be false: I had it however for a truth. Now though, as you say, you confine yourself within your own boundaries, yet I wish you to explain to me the actual state of the city; whether there is expressed any wish for Pompeius; any dislike towards Cæsar; also what you think about Terentia, and Tullia, whether they should continue at Rome, or be with me, or retire to some place of safety. All this, and any thing else that occurs, I should be glad to hear from you, and the oftener the better.

LETTER XIII.

I AGREE with you about the Vennonian business. I look upon Labienus as a Hero. There has been for a long time no deed more distinguished amongst our eitizens. If no other good arise from it, there is this at least, that it has given pain to Cæsar. But I think moreover that it has some effect in advaneing the general eause. I love Piso too, whose judgment of his son-in-law¹ must, I think, have weight. Though you see the nature of this contest. It is a civil war of such a kind, as does not arise from divisions among the members of the state, but from the attempts of one abandoned citizen. He is powerful from his army; he retains many by hopes and promises; but really aims at possessing every thing belonging to every body. To this man has the city been delivered up, full of supplies, and without a garrison. How is it that you are not afraid of one, who regards those temples and houses not as his country, but as his prey? What he designs to do however, or by what means, I know not, without a Senate, and without Magistrates: he eannot so much as pretend to any public motive. But where shall we be able to raise ourselves up again? or when? having, as you

¹ Cæsar had married Calpurnia, Piso's daughter.

must perceive, a most ungeneral-like commander, who did not even know the circumstances of Picenum.² How unadvised he is, the state of affairs testifies: for, to say nothing of the errors of the last ten years, what condition is not preferable to this retreat? I do not at all know what are his present intentions; and I do not cease in my letters to inquire. It is plain that nothing can be more timid, nothing more confused: so that I see no protection, for the sake of which he was kept near the city; nor any place or situation for protection. All hope is placed in two legions that are invidiously retained,³ and ill affected. For the new recruits are hitherto raised against their inclination, and determined not to fight. The time for making conditions is lost. What is likely to happen I do not see. It has been committed by us, or at least by our leader, to go out of harbour without our rudders, and give ourselves up to the storm. I am in doubt what I should do with our young Ciceros: I have sometimes thought of sending them into Greece. And with respect to Tullia and Terentia, when the approach of so many foreign troops comes across my mind, I dread every thing: then again when I recollect Dolabella,

² That the town of Picenum should have been garrisoned to prevent the approach of Cæsar to Rome.

³ They had been raised for the Parthian war.

I a little revive. I should wish you to consider what you think I ought to do; in the first place for security (for a different consideration is due to them and to myself); then for my reputation, that I may not be blamed for choosing to let them be in Rome at a time when all honest people are leaving it. You also, and Pduceus, who has written to me, must take care what you do; for such is your splendor, that as much is required of you, as of the greatest citizens. But about this you will see; as I wish you to consider about myself, and all my concerns. It remains for me to beg that you will find out, as well as you are able, what is doing, and will write me word: also what you can ascertain by conjecture, which I particularly look for from you. For, while every body relates what is done, from you I expect what is going to be done. "The best prophet is one who guesses well."⁴ Pardon my loquaciousness; which both affords me some relief while I am writing to you, and calls forth your letters.⁵

I could not at first understand the enigma of the Oppii of Velia;⁶ for it is more obscure

⁴ The original is quoted from Euripides.

⁵ There is every appearance of this being the conclusion of one letter; and what follows, the beginning of another.

⁶ The Oppii were probably scribes and money agents residing in that part of Rome known by the name of Velia.

than Plato's doctrine of numbers.⁷ But I now understand your meaning; for you call the Oppii the Juices⁸ of Velia. This puzzled me a long time. But this being made out, the rest was clear, and agreed with Terentia's account. I saw L. Cæsar at Minturnæ the morning of the 25th of January with most extravagant instructions; a mere man of straw; so that he seems to me to have done it in mockery, to deliver to him instructions of such importance. Unless perhaps he did not deliver them, and this man caught hold of some expressions, which he pretended were instructions. Labienus, whom I look upon as a great man, came to Theanum the 23d; there he met Pompeius and the Consuls. When I know certainly what was said, and done, I will inform you. Pompeius went from Theanum towards Larinum the 24th. That day he remained at Venafrum. Labienus seems to have brought us a little encouragement. But I have nothing yet to tell you from this quarter. I rather wait to hear what news is brought

⁷ This doctrine of numbers was derived from Pythagoras, and is indeed most obscure. Plato has introduced it in his *Timæus*, and in some other parts of his works.

⁸ I have thought it best to give this which I conceive to be the meaning of the Latin *succones* derived from *σπρος* "succus, or juice." There is an instance of a similar enigma on the name of Philotimus. Book VI. Letter IX. Of the Oppii See Book VIII. Letter VII. note 2.

thither ; how he bears this conduct of Labienus ; what Domitius is doing among the Marsi, or Thermus at Iguvium, or P. Attius at Cingulum ;⁹ how the people in the city are disposed ; and what is your opinion of the future. Upon these subjects I should wish often to hear from you, and what you think best to be done about the ladies, and what you mean to do yourself. If I were writing with my own hand, I should send you a longer letter : but I employ an amanuensis on account of a weakness in my eyes.

LETTER XIV.

I SEND this on the 27th of January, on my way from Cales to Capua, having still a slight inflammation of the eyes. L. Cæsar delivered Cæsar's dispatch to Pompeius on the 25th, while he was with the Consuls at Theanum. The terms were approved, with this reserve, that he should withdraw his garrisons from those places, which he had occupied beyond the limits of his province. If he did this, it was replied that we would return to the city, and conclude the business through the Senate. I hope that we are at peace even at this present. For he begins to repent of his madness ;

⁹ These were all of them of Pompeius's party.

and our general of his forces.¹ Pompeius wished me to go to Capua, and to forward the levies; in which the Campanian settlers are not very ready to engage. Pompeius has very conveniently distributed Cæsar's Gladiators, which are at Capua, and about whom I had before sent you a wrong account from Torquatus's letters. Two are sent to each family. There were 600 of them in the schools. It was said they were going to make an insurrection: so that in this respect the republic has been well provided for. Respecting our ladies, amongst whom is your sister, pray consider how far it is reputable for me, that they should remain at Rome, when all other ladies of any respect have left it. I have before written to you, and have written to them about it. I should wish you to encourage their departure; especially as I have estates on the sea coast, where I preside, in which they may be accommodated as occasion offers. For if offence is taken at my conduct, it arises from my son-in-law; for which I ought not to be responsible: but this is something more, that our ladies should have continued at Rome after all the others. I should be glad to know what you yourself, and Sextus, think about going away; and what is your opinion of the whole state

¹ Pompeius begins to repent of having placed his reliance on such doubtful troops.

of affairs. For my own part, I do not cease to recommend peace; which, even if it be unequitable, is preferable to the most equitable war. But this as fortune shall ordain.

LETTER XV.

SINCE my departure from the city, I have suffered no day to pass without writing something to you; not that I had much to say, but that I might talk with you in my absence. For, when I cannot do this in person, nothing is more agreeable to me. Upon my arrival at Capua on the 27th, the day previous to my writing this, I met the consuls and many of our order;¹ all of whom wished that Cæsar might withdraw his garrisons, and abide by the terms he had offered. Favonius alone objected to our admitting any conditions imposed by him: but he was not attended to in the council. Even Cato thinks it now better to submit, than to fight. He says, however, that he wishes to be present in the Senate, when the terms are debated, if Cæsar should be induced to withdraw his garrisons. Therefore he does not care to go into Sicily, where his presence is greatly wanted; but is desirous of

¹ Of the Senators.

being in the Senate, which I fear may be prejudicial. Postumus also, whom the Senate appointed by name to go immediately into Sicily to succeed Fuffanus, refuses to go without Cato, and conceives that his own assistance and weight in the Senate is of great importance. Thus the business devolves upon Fannius, who is sent before with a command into Sicily. There is a great difference of opinion in our consultations. Most think that Cæsar will not adhere to the conditions; and that these requisitions were interposed by him only to interrupt our necessary preparations for war. But I expect that he will withdraw his garrisons: for if he is made Consul, he will gain his purpose, and will gain it with less guilt, than that with which he began. But a severe blow must be sustained; for we are shamefully unprepared both in men, and money. The whole of which, whether belonging to individuals in the city, or to the public in the treasury, is left for him. Pompeius is gone to join the troops of Attius, and has taken Labienus with him. I want your opinion upon these matters. I design to retire immediately to Formiæ.

LETTER XVI.

I IMAGINE I have received all your letters ; the first irregularly, the rest in the order in which Terentia sent them. About Cæsar's proposals, and Labienus's arrival, and the replies of the Consuls and of Pompeius, I have written to you in a letter from Capua of the 28th, and have besides thrown together several things in the same letter. We have now two subjects of expectation ; one, what Cæsar will determine, when he has received the answer delivered to L. Cæsar ; the other, what Pompeius is doing, who sends me word that in a few days he shall have an army on which he can depend ; and he holds out the hope, that, if he gets into the country of Picenum, we may return again to Rome. He has with him Labienus, who speaks confidently of the weakness of Cæsar's forces. His arrival is a great source of encouragement to our Cnæus. I have been desired by the Consuls to be at Capua the 5th of February. I set out from Capua to go to Formiæ the 30th of January ; and the same day having received your letter at Cales about three in the afternoon, I have immediately set down to answer it. I agree with you about Terentia and Tullia, to

whom I had written referring them to you. If they are not already set out, there is no occasion for their removing till we see what the situation of things may be.

LETTER XVII.

YOUR letter is most acceptable and agreeable to me. I thought of transporting the boys into Greece, at a time when the quitting Italy seemed necessary. For if I should go to Spain, this would not be equally suitable for them. I think you and Sextus may even now very well remain in Rome: for you have no reason to be friends with our Pompeius; since nobody ever left the city so unprotected. You see that I can still joke with you. You must already be acquainted with the answer which L. Cæsar brings back from Pompeius, and the letter he bears from him to Cæsar; for it is written and delivered with the view of being made public. I have in my own mind found fault with Pompeius, who, though he writes so well, should have left to Sestius an affair of such consequence, which was to go into every body's hands. Accordingly, I never read any thing more Sestian.¹ It may however be seen

¹ More indicative of Sestius's bad stile.

by Pompeius's letter, that nothing is refused to Cæsar; but every thing, that he can demand, is abundantly granted; which he must be mad if he does not accept; especially as the demand is most unreasonable: for who are you, that say, "if Pompeius goes into Spain," and "if he dismisses his garrisons?" Yet this is granted; though not so honorably now, when the republic has been violated, and invaded by arms, as if he had formerly obtained the acknowledgment of his eligibility. Yet I doubt if even this will satisfy him. For when he had delivered his proposals to L. Cæsar, he should have waited more quietly for the answer: instead of which, he is reported to be particularly active. Trebatius sends me word, that he was desired by Cæsar to write to me the 22d of January, requesting me to come to Rome, and saying that I could not do him a greater favor. Upon all this he largely dilated. I understood, by reekoning up the days, that as soon as Cæsar had heard of my departure, he began to be uneasy from the apprehension that we² might all be absent. I do not doubt therefore of his having written likewise to Piso, and to Servius. I am rather surprised that he should not have written to me himself, or should not have applied to me through Dolabella, or Cælius: not that I have any objection to Treba-

² The Senators.

tius's writing, of whose affection I am well persuaded. I wrote word back to Trebatius (for I did not care to write to Cæsar, as he had not written to me) that it could not very well be done at this time; but that I was at one of my farms, and had taken no part in raising troops, or any other business. And I intend to maintain this posture, as long as any hope remains. But if war breaks out, I shall not be wanting to my duty, or to my dignity, having first sent the boys into Greece. For I perceive that every part of Italy will be involved in the contest; so great is the mischief excited partly by wicked, partly by jealous citizens. But in a few days it will be understood, from the manner in which he receives our answer, how things are likely to go. Then, if we are to have war, I will write to you more at length; but if even a truce is agreed upon, I shall hope to see you myself. This 2d of February, on which day I write in Formianum, being just returned from Capua, I am expecting the ladies, though I had written to them by your advice to desire they would remain in Rome: but I hear there has been a great alarm in the city. I mean to be at Capua the 5th of February, as the Consuls desired. Whatever intelligence is brought hither from Pompeius, I will immediately write to inform you; and I shall expect to hear from you upon these affairs.

LETTER XVIII.

ON the 2d of February the ladies arrived at Formiæ, and brought an account of your attention and great kindness to them. I have thought it best that they should remain in Formianum along with the young Ciceros, till I knew whether we were to have a disgraceful peace, or a wretched war. I am going with my brother to the Consuls at Capua the 3d of February, on which day I write; for we were desired to be there the 5th. Pompeius's answer is said to be liked by the people, and approved by the assembly. I had supposed it would be so. If he¹ rejects this, he will lose his estimation: if he accepts it,—² “Which then,” you will say, “do you prefer?” I would answer you, if I knew how well we were prepared. It was reported here that Cassius had been driven from Aneon, and that the place was in the possession of our people. If a war takes place, this may be an advantageous circumstance. They say that Cæsar, at the very time when Lucius Cæsar was sent with proposals of peace,

¹ Cæsar.

² I have left this break, as it is in the original. The sense no doubt is, that if Cæsar agrees to Pompeius's terms, we shall be left in a very bad condition.

was nevertheless eagerly raising recruits, occupying different posts, and securing himself with garrisons. O the wicked robber! O disgrace to the republic, scarcely to be compensated by any peace. But let us cease to complain, and bend to the times, and go with Pompeius into Spain. This is what I wish for in this sad state; since we have, without any pretence, refused to let the Republic see him a second time Consul.³ But enough of this. I forgot before to write to you about Dionysius: but it was my determination, to wait for Cæsar's answer; that in case I should return to the city, he might wait for me there; or if that should be put off, then I might send for him. I say nothing of what he ought to do in the event of my flight, or what becomes a learned and friendly man, especially when he had been asked. But this I must not require too rigidly from Greeks. You will take care, however, if it is necessary to summon him (which I should be sorry for) that I may not trouble him against his inclination. My brother Quintus is anxious to pay what he owes you through Egnatius: and there is no want of inclination on Egnatius's part, nor any want of funds: but the times being such, that Q. Titinius, who has been a great deal with me, has not enough to

³ His eligibility having been legalised by law, there was no longer any pretence to oppose it.

defray his expenses on the road, and has informed his debtors that they must continue the same interest;⁴ that L. Ligus also is said to have done the same; and that Quintus has at present no money in his house, and can neither get any from Egnatius, nor borrow any where; he is surprised that you should have no regard for this general embarrassment. And I, whilst I observe that precept falsely attributed to Hesiod (for so it is supposed), to pronounce no judgment till you have heard both sides, especially against you, whom I never knew to do any thing unadvisedly; yet I am moved by his complaint: at all events, I wished you to be acquainted with it.

LETTER XIX.

I HAVE nothing to tell you: nay, a letter, which I had written, I have not sent; for it was full of good hopes; as I had been informed of the disposition of the assembly, and imagined that Cæsar would abide by the terms, especially as they were his own. Behold then on the morn-

⁴ It was usual to pay the interest of money the middle of every month, and probably some intimation was given in ease the interest was to continue unaltered.

ing of the 4th of February I received your letter, and that of Philotimus, of Furnius, and of Curio to Furnius, in which he ridicules L. Cæsar's embassy. I feel quite overwhelmed, and know not what resolution to form. Yet it is not for myself that I care; but I am at a loss what to do about the boys. I write this however on my way to Capua, that I may more readily learn the state of Pompeius's affairs.

LETTER XX.

THE time itself makes me little disposed to say much; for I despair of peace, and our friends make no provision for war. You can imagine nothing weaker than these Consuls; by whose directions I came to Capua yesterday in a violent rain, with the hope of hearing what they had to propose, and of learning the state of our preparations. They had not then arrived, but were coming empty and unprepared. Cnæus was said to be at Luceria, where he was to join some cohorts of the Attian legion, not very steady. But Cæsar, they say, is rushing on, and almost at hand; not with the view of fighting; for with whom should he fight? but to intercept our flight. For myself, I am ready to die with the rest in Italy; though I do not

advise you to do so: but out of Italy, what should I do? The winter, the lictors which attend me,¹ the improvidence and negligence of our leaders, all tend to make me stay: the motives to flight are, my friendship with Cnæus; the common cause of all honest men, the baseness of joining with a tyrant, who whether he will imitate Phalaris, or Pisistratus,² is uncertain. I should be glad if you could resolve these difficulties, and assist me with your counsel; though I imagine you must yourself be already in perplexity where you are; but yet, as far as you may be able. If I learn any thing new here to-day, you shall know it; for the Consuls will presently be here, as they appointed. I hope to hear from you every day. You will answer this as soon as you can. I left the ladies and the young Ciceros in Formianum.

LETTER XXI.

OF our calamities you have earlier intelligence than I, for they take their course from thence; and there is nothing good to be expected from

¹ Cicero had not yet laid down his command since his return from Cilicia.

² Phalaris was distinguished by his cruelty; Pisistratus by his humanity; both of them tyrants.

hence. I came to Capua the 5th of February, agreeably to the order of the Consuls. Lentulus arrived late in the day; the other Consul had not yet arrived on the 7th. For on that day I left Capua and staid at Cales, from whence I send this the following day before it is light. I learned so much at Capua; that the Consuls are quite inefficient, and that no troops are raised. Those employed on the recruiting service dare not shew their faces, as Cæsar is at hand; while our commander is nowhere, and does nothing; so that the people will not enlist; not from want of inclination, but from want of encouragement. But our Cnæus, (O wretched and incredible state!) is quite sunk. He has no spirit, no counsel, no forces, no exertion; to say nothing of his shameful flight from the city, his timid harangues in the towns, his ignorance not only of his adversary's forces, but of his own. What is the meaning of this? On the 7th of February C. Cassius, Tribune of the people, came to Capua with instructions from Pompeius to the Consuls, that they should go to Rome, and take away the money from the sacred treasury,¹ and immediately quit the city. Return to Rome? under what guard? Then that they should go out again? with whose permission? The Consul wrote word

¹ This seems to have been a sacred deposit reserved for extraordinary emergencies. See above, Letter XII.

back, that Pompeius himself must first occupy Picenum.² But that was already lost: which I knew, and nobody else, from Dolabella's letters. I had no doubt but that Cæsar would presently be in Apulia; and that our Cnæus would be on board a ship. It is a great question what I should do. I should have no difficulty, if every thing had not been conducted most disgracefully, while I was never consulted. But yet I would do what becomes me. Cæsar himself invites me to peace: but his letter is previous to his present impetuous career. Dolabella and Cælius assure me that my conduct is satisfactory to him. I am distracted with wonderful irresolution. Help me, if you can, with your advice; and at the same time, as far as you are able, provide for what may happen. In such a confused state of affairs I can write about nothing. I am expecting to hear from you.

LETTER XXII.

I PERCEIVE there is not a foot of ground in Italy, that is not in Cæsar's power. Of Pompeius I know nothing; and unless he gets on

² This Pompeius had professed to do, which if he had done, it would have cut off Cæsar's approach to the city.

board a ship, I fear he will be taken. What incredible speed! But as for this our general— Yet I cannot without pain find fault with one, for whom I am grieved and distressed. It is not without reason that you apprehend a slaughter; not that any thing could be less calculated to secure the victory and authority of Cæsar; but I see by whose counsels he will act. May it turn out well! I apprehend it will be necessary to retire from these towns. I am at a loss what steps to take. You will do what you think best. Speak with Philotimus: and you will have Terentia on the 13th. What should I do? In what land, or what sea, should I follow him, whom I know not where to find? But how is it possible by land? And in what sea? Shall I then deliver myself up to Cæsar? Suppose I could do it with safety, (and many people advise it) could I also do it with honor? Certainly not. What then? I want your advice, as usual. It is a difficulty, which cannot be cleared up: yet tell me what occurs to you, and what you mean to do yourself.

LETTER XXIII.

ON the 9th of February in the evening I received a letter from Philotimus informing me that Domitius had an army to be depended upon; and that it had been joined by the troops from Picenum under the conduct of Lentulus and Thermus; that Cæsar might be intercepted, and that he was afraid of it: that the spirits of honest men in Rome were raised; that the wicked were almost thunderstruck. I am afraid that this is but a dream: but however, Philotimus's letter has quite revived M. Lepidus, L. Torquatus, and C. Cassius the tribune of the people, who are with me in the neighbourhood of Formiæ.¹ I wish it may not be more true, that we are all nearly prisoners; and that Pompeius is retiring from Italy; of whom (O bitter chance!) Cæsar is said to be in pursuit. Cæsar in pursuit of Pompeius? What? To kill him? O sad! And do we not all make a rampart of our bodies to oppose him? In this you also take an interest. But what can we do? We are completely conquered, overwhelmed, and taken. However, upon

¹ See Book VIII. Letter VI.

reading Philotimus's letter I have changed my resolution about the ladies, whom, as I told you, I was going to send back to Rome. But it occurred to me, that it might occasion a good deal of talk, if I should seem already to have formed my judgment of the public cause; in despair of which, the ladies went back, as a step to my own return. Respecting myself, I agree with you, that I should not expose myself to a doubtful and hazardous flight, by which I can do no good to the Republic, none to Pompeius, for whom I am willing to die with all devotion and readiness. I will therefore remain: though to live—. ² You ask what people are doing here. All Capua, and all recruiting, is sunk in despair: the cause is considered as lost; every body is running away; unless there be any prospect of Pompeius uniting those troops of Domitius with his own. But I suppose we shall know every thing in two or three days. I have sent you a Copy of Cæsar's letter, as you desired. Many persons have assured me of his being very well pleased with the part I have taken. I am not sorry for

² I understand this to allude to his destroying himself, if he could not live with credit: like what is repeatedly said, Book III. Letter IX, XIX, XXIII. under the affliction of his banishment: and there also it is rather implied, than expressed; probably to avoid the ill omen of an open declaration in direct terms.

this ; whilst I shall continue, as I have hitherto done, to avoid any thing inconsistent with my honor.

LETTER XXIV.

PHILOTIMUS's letter gave wonderful encouragement, not to me, but to those who were with me. The next day comes a letter to Cassius from his friend Lucretius at Capua, saying that Nigidius had arrived at Capua from Domitius, and reported that Vibullius was fleeing out of Picenum with a few soldiers to Cnæus, and that Cæsar was immediately following him, while Domitius could not muster 3000 men. He added that the Consuls had left Capua. I doubt not but Cnæus is trying to make his escape, if only he can effect it. I have, as you advise, no thought of fleeing away.

LETTER XXV.

AFTER I had dispatched my letter to you full of sad news, but I fear too true, on the subject of Lucretius's letter to Cassius from Capua ; Cephalio arrived, and brought from you a

more cheerful letter, yet not written with your usual confidence. I can believe any thing sooner than what you say, that Pompeius is at the head of an army. Nobody brings any intelligence of the kind hither, but every thing that is unpleasant. It is a wretched state. He has always been successful in a bad cause: in the best of causes he has failed. What can be said, but that he understood the one, which was easy enough; and did not understand the other? For the right administration of the Republic is a difficult art. But I shall very soon know every thing, and will immediately write to you.

LETTER XXVI.

I CANNOT say, as you do, "how often do I "revive?" For it is only now that I a little revive, especially by the intelligence, that is brought from Rome, about Domitius, and the troops of the Picentians. These last two days every thing has become more favorable, so that the preparations for flight are put off. Cæsar's declaration, "if I find you here two "days hence,"¹ is discredited. The accounts

¹ This is not to be supposed Cæsar's actual declaration. It appears to be a line out of some poem; and probably means no more, than to express the apprehensions entertained of Cæsar's unlimited power.

of Domitius are good; those of Afranius excellent. Your friendly advice of keeping myself free from either party as long as I can, is very agreeable to me. When you add, that I must avoid the appearance of being inclined to a bad cause; I certainly may appear so; for I refused to take a lead in the civil contest while peace was in agitation: not that it was not right; but because that which was much more right, had brought upon me the imputation of wrong.² I certainly did not wish to make an enemy of him,³ to whom Pompeius would offer a second Consulate and a triumph: and in what terms? “for his most distinguished conduct.” I know whom I should fear, and why. But if a war breaks out, as I see it will, I shall not be backward in taking my side. Terentia has written to you about the 20,000 Sestertii (£ 166.) While I thought I should be moving about, I did not care to be troublesome to Dionysius; and I made no reply to your repeated assurance of his attachment, because I expected from day to day to be able to determine what was to be done. Now, as far as I see, the boys are likely to pass the winter in Formianum. Whether I shall be

² This alludes to the persecution and banishment which he suffered in consequence of his exertions in suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy.

³ Cæsar.

there too, I do not know; for if we go to war, I am resolved to join Pompeius. When I hear any thing certain, I will take care to inform you. For my part I apprehend the foulest war; unless, as you know, some accident should occur on the side of Parthia.⁴

⁴ The Romans having sustained a signal defeat by the Parthians, at the time of Crassus's death, became peculiarly alive to any danger that might arrive, and had already appointed Pompeius to go thither (Book VI. Letter 1.); from whence it was hoped, that, in case of alarm from that quarter, the necessity of his absence might prevent a civil war from breaking out.

BOOK VIII.

LETTER I.

PRESENTLY after I had sent my letter to you, I received one from Pompeius. It mostly related to the transactions in Picenum, of which Vibullius had sent him an account; and to the troops raised by Domitius; all which is known to you. It did not however represent things in so favorable a light, as Philotimus's letter. I would have sent you the letter itself, but that my brother's servant is in a hurry to set off. I will send it therefore to-morrow.¹ But at the end of the letter is added in Pompeius's own hand; "I think you should come to *Luceria*: you can no where be safer." I understood this to signify, that he looked upon these towns, and maritime coast,² as given up. And I was not surprised that he, who had given

¹ The letter itself will be found after Letter xi.

² The South coast, from whence Cicero writes

up the head³ itself, should not spare the other members. I immediately wrote him word back by a confidential attendant, that I did not consider where I could be most in safety; but that if he wished me to go to Luceria on his own account, or that of the Republic, I would immediately go: and I advised him to preserve the sea coast, if he hoped to be supplied with grain from the provinces. I knew that I was saying this to no purpose; but as in the case of retaining the city formerly, so⁴ now in the case of not relinquishing Italy, I wished to declare my opinion. For I perceive that preparations are making to concentrate all the troops at Luceria, not because that place is tenable, but that from thence, if we are pressed, we may have a ready escape. You must not therefore be surprised, if I am unwilling to embark in a cause, which has for its object neither peace, nor victory, but only a disgraceful and calamitous flight. I must go; that, whatever issue chance may produce, I may rather submit to it with those who are called good, than appear to dissent from the good. Though I see that the city will presently be

³ Rome.

⁴ I have rendered this as if in the original it were *sic*, instead of *si*; for I cannot doubt of this being the true reading.

full of good people in one sense, that is, of the luxurious and wealthy; and if these distant towns are deserted, it will overflow. I should be among their number, if I were not encumbered with these lictors. Nor should I be sorry to have Manius Lepidus, L. Volcatius, and Sergius Sulpitius for my companions; of whom none exceeds L. Domitius in folly, or Appius Claudius in inconstancy.⁵ Pompeius alone affects me, not by his authority, but by his kindness. For what authority can he have in this cause? who professed his fondness for Cæsar, at a time when we were all afraid of him; and since he is become afraid himself, thinks that every body ought to be Cæsar's enemy. I shall however go to Luceria; though he will not perhaps be much pleased with my arrival; for I cannot conceal my dislike of what has hitherto been done. If it were possible for me to sleep, I should not molest you with such long letters: if you are under the influence of the same cause, I wish you would make the same return.

⁵ He should be as well countenanced by the example of those who were going to Rome, as by that of those who, without being a whit better, staid away.

LETTER II.

I AM obliged to you on every account; both for telling me what you had heard; and for not giving credit to what was inconsistent with my usual correctness; and for giving me your own opinion. I wrote one letter to Cæsar from Capua, in reply to what he had said to me about his gladiators.¹ It was short, but expressive of kindness; not only without reproach, but even with great praise, of Pompeius. For so that purpose of my letter required, wherein I exhorted him to a reconciliation. If he has communicated this, he is welcome to publish it. I have written a second letter, the same day that I write this. I could not do otherwise, considering that he had himself written to me, and likewise Balbus. I send you a copy of my letter; and believe you will find in it nothing to blame: if there should be any thing, shew me how I could avoid it. “Do not write at all,” you will say. How will this enable one to escape those, who shall please to invent? However, I will do so, as far as possible. When you recall me to the recollection of what I have done, and said,

¹ See Book VII. Letter XIV.

and written ; you act indeed a friendly part, for which I thank you ; but you seem to me to judge differently from myself what is honorable and becoming for me. For in my opinion nothing was ever done, in any country, by any leader and head of a state, more disgracefully, than by our friend ; whose condition I sincerely lament. He has deserted the City, that is, his country, for which, and in which, it had been glorious to die. You appear to me not to see the magnitude of this calamity ; for you remain still in your own house. But you cannot remain there without the leave of the most abandoned men. Can any thing be more wretched, more disgraceful than this ? We wander about like beggars with our wives and children. We have placed all our hopes in the life of one man, who is every year dangerously ill ; and are not driven, but called, out of our country ; which we have left, not to be preserved till our return, but to be plundered and burnt ; so many are there in the same situation with myself, not in their villas, not in their gardens, not even in the City ; or if they are now, they will not be there long. In the mean time I must not remain even at Capua ; but at Luceeria. And we must now relinquish the sea coast, and wait for Afranius and Petreius ;² for Labienus has lost his dig-

² These were lieutenants of Pompeius in Spain.

nity.³ Here you will apply to me the proverb, "what you give, that you must bear."⁴ I say nothing of myself; I leave that to others. But what dignity is there here? You, and all respectable people, are, and will continue, at your own homes. But before, who did not present himself to me? And now, who comes to this war?⁵ For so it must now be called. Vibullius has already done great things. You will know what this is from Pompeius's letter; in which observe the place that is scored. You will see what Vibullius's own opinion is of our Cnæus. But whither does this discourse lead? I am ready to sacrifice my life for Pompeius: there is nobody for whom I have a greater regard: yet not so, that I think all hope of saving the Republic depends upon him alone: for you give me to understand, something differently from what you used to do, that even if he should retire from Italy, you think I ought to retire with him: which seems to me advisable neither for the Republic, nor for my children; and moreover dishonorable. "What then?

³ He had lost his consideration since his defection from Cæsar to Pompeius. Book VII. Letter XII.

⁴ This I conceive to be the true interpretation of this broken sentence.

⁵ They who now content themselves with staying at home, formerly professed their readiness to support the cause of the republic.

“ Will you be able to support the sight of a “ tyrant ?” As if it signified whether I saw him, or only heard of him ; or as if I could look for a higher authority, than Socrates ; who, when there were thirty tyrants, did not set his foot beyond the gate.⁶ But I have besides a constant reason for staying ; about which I shall hope at some time to talk to you.⁷ I write this, the 17th of February, by the same lamp with which I have burned your letter ;⁸ and am going immediately from Formiæ to Pompeius : if it were to treat of peace, I might be of some consideration ; if of war, what part can I take ?

LETTER III.

IN the anxiety occasioned by this critical and wretched state of affairs, while I have no means of consulting with you in person, yet I wish to avail myself of your judgment. The whole question is this : if Pompeius should quit Italy, as I imagine he will, what you think I ought

⁶ Lysander having made himself master of Athens, placed the government in the hands of thirty tyrants.

⁷ This probably alludes to the conduct of Terentia.

⁸ There is reason to believe that Atticus, out of his great caution, had desired Cicero to destroy his letters, or in the mean time to keep them secured. Book ix. Letter x.

to do: and that you may the more easily give me your opinion, I will shortly explain what occurs to me on both sides. My great obligations to Pompeius in promoting my restoration; the intimacy between us; and the cause of the Republic itself; induce me to think that I ought to unite with him, whether in counsel, or in fortune. Added to which, if I remain, and desert that assemblage of the best and most distinguished citizens, I must fall under the dominion of one man; who, though in many respects he shews himself to be friendly to me; (and that he might be so, I have, as you know, long since provided, in apprehension of this storm which hangs over us;) yet we must take into consideration both the degree of credit that is to be given to his professions; and, if it should be clear that he will indeed be friendly to me, whether it becomes a brave man, and a good citizen, to remain in that city, in which he has enjoyed the highest honors and appointments, has conducted the greatest affairs, and held the sovereign priesthood, without being any longer his own master, and with the possibility of incurring danger, and perhaps some disgrace, if ever Pompeius should restore the Republic. This is what may be said on one side. See now what may be said on the other. Nothing has been done by our Pompeius wisely, nothing nobly, and, I

may add, nothing but what was contrary to my own opinion and authority. I omit those old errors of cherishing, raising, and arming Cæsar against the Republic; that it was he, who got laws to be passed by violence, and contrary to the auspices; he, that added the further Gaul to his command; he, that is the son-in-law; he, that was augur at the adoption of P. Clodius; he, that was more earnest in my recall, than in preventing my exile; he, that extended the period of Cæsar's government; he, that was on every occasion the advocate of Cæsar in his absence; and even in his third consulate, after he began to be the protector of the republic, exerted himself to obtain the consent of the ten tribunes to his eligibility during his absence; which he afterwards ratified by a certain law of his own; and on the first of March opposed the Consul Marcus Marcellus, who would have put an end to the Gallic provinces.¹ But, to say nothing of these matters, what can be more disgraceful, what more inconsiderate, than this retreat from the city, or rather this base flight? What conditions were not preferable to the desertion of one's country? The conditions were bad, I grant; but could any thing be worse than this? "But he will re-

¹ That is, wanted to put an end to Cæsar's administration in Gaul.

“ cover the Republic.” When? Or what preparations are there to encourage such a hope? Is not the country of Picenum lost? Is not the road left open to the City? Is not all the wealth of the metropolis, both public and private, left to the adversary? In short, there is no party, no power, no place, where those may rally, who wish well to the Republic. Apulia is chosen, the most uninhabited part of Italy, and the most remote from the irruption of this war: flight, and convenience of the sea coast, appear to be the first objects in this despondency. I took charge of Capua against my will; not that I disliked that office, but because there was no party to act with, none that showed any public sorrow, or any declared private sorrow: there was some among good men, but this was in a quiet way, as usual, and as I might have felt myself; the mob, and all the weaker sort were inclined to the other side, and many were desirous of some change. I told Pompeius that I could undertake nothing without troops, and without money. I have therefore had nothing at all to do; for I saw from the first, that nothing was aimed at besides escape. If I now pursue this object, whither should I go? Certainly not with him: for when I had set out to join him, I understood that Cæsar was in those parts, so that I could not safely get to Luceria.

I must sail then by the Mediterranean sea, with no certain course, and in the depth of winter. Besides, should I go with my brother? or without him? or with my son? or how? Either way I shall have great difficulty, and great anxiety. And what violence will he commit against me, and my fortunes, in my absence? Greater than against those of other people; because he may think that in his attacks upon me he will be supported by some degree of popularity. Besides, how troublesome is it to carry with me these fetters, these laurelled fasces I mean, out of Italy? And, supposing the sea to be tranquil, what place would be safe for me, before I could reach him? I neither know what road I should take, nor whither I should go. But if I remain, and there be any place for me in these parts; I shall do no more than Philippus, than L. Flaccus, than Q. Mucius did at the time of Cinna's domination, however it turned out to the last of them;² who used nevertheless to say that he foresaw what must be the consequence; but that he preferred this, to coming up in arms against his country. Thrasybulus³ judged otherwise, and perhaps better. But there is some reason in the conduct and sentiments of

² Q. Mucius remained in the city, and was killed.

³ Thrasybulus came against his country, Athens, to deliver it from the dominion of the thirty tyrants.

Mucius, as well as in those of Thrasybulus; both in bending to the times, when it is necessary; and not letting slip an opportunity, when it is offered. But in this very consideration these same fasces create an embarrassment. For supposing him to be friendly towards me; which is uncertain; but supposing it, he will offer me a triumph.⁴ Would it be more dangerous not to accept it; or more invidious to accept it? This, you say, is a difficult and inexplicable point. Yet explained it must be. "But how can it be done?" Now, that you may not suppose I incline to remain, because I have dwelt longer on that side; it may be, as it happens in many cases, that there is more pleading on one side, more truth on the other. Therefore I should be glad if you would give me your opinion, as upon a point of great moment, on which I would exercise an unbiassed judgment. I have a vessel ready for me both at Caieta, and at Brundisium. Whilst I am writing this account of my own concerns, there have arrived messengers with letters stating that Cæsar is on his way to Corfinium, and that Domitius is at Corfinium with a steady army eager to engage. I cannot think that our Cnæus will be so negligent as to desert Domitius; though he had sent on

⁴ See Book VII. in which his petition for a triumph is repeatedly mentioned.

Scipio before with two cohorts to Brundisium; and had written to the Consuls to desire that one of them would conduct into Sicily the legion which had been raised by Faustus. But it will be disgraceful to desert Domitius, when he is imploring his assistance. I have some hope, but not much, (though it is generally believed in these parts,) that Afranius may have had an engagement with Trebonius in the Pirenæan mountains, that Trebonius has been repulsed, and that your friend Fabius has come over with his troops; and in short, that Afranius is approaching with a strong force. If this is so, we shall perhaps remain in Italy. As it was uncertain what road Cæsar would take, and it was expected that he would go either to Capua, or to Luceria, I returned to Formiæ, that I might not fall in with him. I wished to let you to know this; and have written in a more composed state of mind, than I did lately, not meaning to interpose any judgment of my own, but to request yours.

LETTER IV.

YOUR Dionysius, for so I must call him, not mine, (who was pretty well known to me, though I chose rather to rely upon your judgment, than my own) without any regard to

your testimony concerning him, which had so often been given me, has displayed his insolence in this state of fortune, in which he supposed me to be. However, as far as human prudence can effect, I hope to regulate the course of events with some discretion. But what honor, what attention has not been shewn him? What commendation to others in favor of a contemptible man? I have even chosen to have my judgment impeached by my brother Quintus, and generally by all people, rather than not extol him by my praises: and have taken upon myself part of the trouble of teaching the young Ciceros, instead of applying to any other master. Ye Gods! what letters have I written to him? how full of honor? how full of affection? You would suppose I was inviting Dicæarchus, or Aristoxenes; not one who was such a prattler, and so little fit to teach. “But he has a good memory.”¹ He shall find that I have a better.² He has replied to my letters in such a manner, as I never did to any one whose cause I declined. For I always added—“if it is in my power;” “if I am not prevented by some former engagement.” I never gave to any client, however humble, mean, or guilty, so abrupt a refusal,

¹ He will take advantage of what I have said in his favor.

² I shall shew him that I can resent his ill behaviour.

as he has given me. He has positively, and without qualification, cut off all communication. I never knew an instance of greater ingratitude; in which vice is included in every thing that is bad. But more than enough on this subject. I have got a vessel ready: but wait for a letter from you, that I may know what answer it brings to my consultation. You are apprised of C. Attius Peltinus having opened the gates of Sulmo to Antonius, though he had with him five cohorts; and that Q. Lucretius has fled from thence. Our Cnæus is gone to Brundisium, and deserted the cause. It is all over.

LETTER V.

BEFORE it was light on the 22d, I wrote to you about Dionysius; and on the evening of the same day Dionysius himself came to me, moved, as I suspect, by your authority. For how can I think otherwise? Though it is true that after having done any thing intemperately, he often repents. But he never was more determined, than on this occasion. For what I mentioned to you, I afterwards had confirmed to me, that before he had got three miles “ he began to toss his horns into the air with “ anger.” He uttered, I mean, many imprecations.

tions, to fall, as they say, upon his own head. But observe my lenity: I put into the same packet with your letter, one directed to him. This I wish to have returned to me; and for this special purpose I have sent Pollux, one of my couriers, to Rome; and have written to you to beg that, if it should have been delivered to you, you would take care to send it back, that it may not come to his hands. If there was any news, I would have written. I am anxious to hear about Corfinium,¹ where the fate of the Republic is to be decided. I shall be obliged to you to forward the packet, which is addressed to Des. M'. Curius;² and to recommend Tiro to Curius, that he may advance to him, as I have requested, what may be necessary for his expenses.

LETTER VI.

AFTER I had sealed the letter which I intended to send in the night, (as in fact I did, for I wrote it in the evening) C. Sosius, the Prætor, came to Formianum to my neighbour M. Lepidus, to whom he had been Quæstor; and

¹ See Letter III.

² This is the physician, under whose care Cicero had left Tiro at Patræ (Book VII. Letter II.)

brought him a copy of Pompeius's letter to the Consul, as follows.

“ I have received a letter from L. Domitius
 “ dated the 17th of February, of which I en-
 “ close a copy. Now, though I should not
 “ write, yet I am sure you see of your own
 “ accord, of what importance it is to the Re-
 “ public, that all the forces should be collected
 “ as soon as possible into one place. If there-
 “ fore you think well of it, you will take care
 “ to join me as soon as you can; leaving at
 “ Capua what you consider will be a sufficient
 “ guard.” Then he subjoined the copy of Do-
 mitius's letter, which I sent you yesterday,
 Good Gods! What horror do I feel? How
 anxious am I about the issue? I hope how-
 ever that the name of Pompeius will be con-
 siderable, and considerable also the terror of
 his approach. I hope also, as nothing has yet
 hurt us, * * *¹ I have just heard that your
 ague has left you. May I die if I am not as
 much pleased, as if it had been my own case.
 Tell Pilia that it is not right for her to keep
 her's any longer;² and that it is unbecoming

¹ The original is mutilated in this part so as to baffle all reasonable interpretation.

² It appeared by a former letter that Pilia had been seized by an illness of the same kind as her husband. See Book VII. Letter v.

the usual harmony between you. I hear that my Tiro has been freed from another illness of the same kind. I find he has borrowed elsewhere for his expenses.³ But I had requested Curius, in case he should want any thing. I hope it is Tiro's modesty, rather than Curius's want of liberality, that is in fault.

LETTER VII.

THE only thing remaining to complete the disgrace of our friend is, that he should refuse to assist Domitius. Nobody doubts but he will come to his relief. For my own part, I think he will not. "Will he desert then such a citizen, and those who, you know, are with him? Especially when he is at the head of thirty cohorts?" Unless I am totally mistaken, he will desert them. He is inconceivably alarmed, and thinks of nothing but escaping. He it is (for I see what is your opinion) whom you think I ought to accompany. But while I have somebody to avoid, I have nobody to follow. For when you praise, and extol, my profession of choosing rather to be conquered with Pompeius, than to conquer with the opposite party; I do indeed choose it; but it is with Pompeius such as he then was, or such as I

³ See before Letter v.

believed him to be: but with him, who runs away before he knows whom he has to fear, or which way he should go; who has betrayed our cause; left his country; and is going to leave Italy; with him if I chose rather to be conquered, it has happened already, I am conquered. As to what remains, I cannot bear to look at a state of things which I never apprehended; nor indeed to look at him,¹ on whose account I must lose not only my friends, but my very self. I have written to Philotimus to procure the money for my journey either from the mint (for nobody pays), or from the Oppii, your partners.² I shall leave to you the care of what else is requisite.³

LETTER VIII.

O SHAMEFUL business! and therefore miserable! For I hold that whatever is base, that, or rather that only, is miserable. He had fostered Cæsar; he had suddenly begun to fear him; he had

¹ Cæsar. It seems Cicero was preparing to retreat from Cæsar and Italy, though without joining Pompeius.

² So I venture to translate the word *contubernales*: for the Oppii being, as it appears, money dealers, and living in one of Atticus's houses, may well be believed to have been connected in business with Cæcilius, to whose property Atticus had succeeded. See Book x. Letter xv.

³ This probably relates to his proposed journey.

agreed to no condition of peace; had made no preparation for war; had deserted the city; had lost Picenum by his negligence; had thrust himself into Apulia; was going into Greece; was leaving us all without speaking to us, or consulting us upon so important and extraordinary a resolution. Then presently comes Demetrius's letter to him, his to the consuls. A sense of honor seemed to flash before his eyes, and I supposed him to have exclaimed with becoming manliness—"In this, which is my duty, let people attempt and plot what they will against me; for right is on my side."¹ But he, bidding a long farewell to honor, goes on to Brundisium. It is reported, that Domitius, and they who were with him, when they heard it, surrendered. O grievous affair! I am prevented by anguish from writing more to you. I look anxiously for a little from you.

LETTER IX.¹

I LIKE exceedingly your advice, which is both honorable, and suitable to the caution required

¹ The original is taken from Aristophanes.

² What usually stands as the former part of this letter, will be found after Book ix. Letter xi. to which it obviously alludes.

in these times. Lepidus indeed (for we almost live together, which is very grateful to him) never approved of leaving Italy: Tullus² still less. For his letters are frequently brought to me from other people. But their opinion has less weight with me. They had never given so many pledges to the republic.³ Your authority greatly influences me. For it holds out the means both of recovering the time that remains, and of securing the present.⁴ But what, I beseech you, can be more wretched than this? that the one should gain applause in a most foul cause; the other odium in the very best: that the one should be esteemed the preserver of his enemies; the other the deserter of his friends. And in truth, however I may love my friend Cnæus; as I do, and ought; yet in this respect I cannot commend him, that he should not have come to the support of such people. If this is through fear; what can be more disgraceful? or if, as some suppose, he thought that his own cause would be advanced by their destruction; what can be more iniquitous? But let us have done with

² This is probably the same L. Volcatius Tullus, of whom mention is made together with Lepidus, in the first letter of this book.

³ They had not been engaged in the service of the republic, like Cicero.

⁴ By remaining to secure himself now, and to make himself useful hereafter.

this; for we augment our sorrow by repeating it. On the 24th in the evening the younger Balbus called upon me on his way to the consul Lentulus; to whom he was hastening through by-ways, by command of Cæsar, with a letter, with instructions, with the promise of a provincial government, if he would return to Rome. I do not think it possible to persuade him, unless they should have a personal interview. He said that Cæsar wished for nothing more, than to get up to Pompeius; which I believe: and to resume his friendship with him; which I do not believe. I even fear that all this clemency may be directed against that one object of cruelty.⁵ The elder Balbus indeed informs me, that Cæsar wishes nothing more, than to live in security, while Pompeius retains his authority. I suppose you believe this! But while I am writing, he may already have reached Brundisium, for he went lightly armed from Luceria before the legions. But this meteor⁶ has dreadful vigilance, swiftness, and diligence. What will be the issue I cannot guess.

⁵ To accomplish the death of Pompeius.

⁶ Cæsar.

LETTER X.

DIONYSIUS having come to me contrary to my expectation, I spake to him with all civility, explained the peculiarity of the times, and desired him to let me know what were his intentions; that I did not require any thing of him against his will. He replied that he was in uncertainty about his accounts; that some people did not pay; that from others the money was not yet due; with something else about his slaves; for which reasons he could not be with us. I let him have his way, and dismissed him; as tutor to the young Ciceros, not willingly; as an ungrateful man, not unwillingly. I wished you to know my opinion of his conduct.

LETTER XI.

RESPECTING the great agitation of mind with which you suppose me to be affected; it is true indeed, yet not so great as you may perhaps imagine. For every care becomes less, when either the resolution is fixed, or when all consideration is fruitless. We may still grieve;

and that I do all day long ; but while it is ineffectual, I fear I may even disgrace my studies and learning. I waste therefore all my time in considering the excellence¹ of that character, which you thought I had accurately expressed in my treatise.² Do you remember then that moderator of the state, to which I would refer every thing ? For it is thus, if I am not mistaken, that Scipio speaks in the fifth book : “ For as the proper aim of the pilot, is a favorable course ; that of the physician, health ; that of a general, victory ; so is the happiness of his countrymen, of this moderator of the state ; that they may live secure in wealth, rich in forces, abundant in glory, honorable in virtue : for I would have him the person to accomplish this greatest and best of works.” This has at no time been duly considered by our Cnæus, and least of all on the present occasion. It is dominion, that has been sought by both parties ; not any endeavour to render the state happy and virtuous. Nor has he left the city because he was unable to defend it ; nor Italy because he was driven out of it : but this was his purpose from the beginning, to move all lands and seas, to call up distant kings, to introduce savage nations armed against Italy,

¹ I have taken the liberty of supposing that *viri* in the text, ought to be *virtus*.

² His piece on a Republic.

to raise the greatest armies. A dominion like that of Sylla has long since been his object, and many who are with him desire it. Think you that no agreement, no convention could be made between them? Even yet it might: but it is not the aim of either to make us happy; both of them wish to oppose it. I have shortly exposed these matters at your request: for you wished me to give you my opinion of these calamities. I forewarn you therefore, my Atticus, not with the prophetic spirit of her³ whom nobody believed; but anticipating by conjecture; “already in the “great ocean,⁴ &c.” Nearly in the same strain, I say, I may prophesy; so great a weight of evils hangs over us. And in one respect the condition of us, who remain at home, is worse than theirs, who have passed over with Pompeius; in as much as they have only one to fear, whilst we have both. Why then did I stay behind, you will say? It may be either in obedience to you; or because I could not get up to him; or because this was more proper. I say, next summer you will see the wretched Italy trampled under foot, and shaken by the violence of both parties, who will collect together

³ Cassandra, who foretold the destruction of Troy, but was disregarded.

⁴ This is the introduction of Cassandra's prophecy from some unknown author.

the slaves of every description. Nor is a proscription (which was the general subject of conversation at Luceria) so much to be dreaded, as the ruin of the whole country; so great will be the forces of both in this contest. I send you my opinion. But you expected perhaps some source of consolation: I can find none. Nothing can be more wretched, nothing more deplorable, nothing more disgraceful. You ask what Cæsar has written to me? What he has frequently said; that he was much pleased with my remaining quiet; and he begs me to continue so. The younger Balbus brings the same injunctions. He was on his way to the consul Lentulus with Cæsar's letter, and the promise of rewards, if he would return to Rome. But upon reckoning up the days, I think he will pass over before a meeting can take place. I wish you to be made acquainted with the meagerness of two letters which I have received from Pompeius; and my own full replies. I send you a copy of them. I am expecting the issue of this rapid march of Cæsar through Apulia to Brundisium. I wish it were any thing like the Parthian incursions.⁵ As soon as I hear any thing I will write to you. I should be glad if you would tell me what good people say. There are reported to be a great many in Rome. I am aware that you do not go into

⁵ That is, soon over.

public; but you must necessarily hear a great deal. I remember your receiving a book, sent you by Demetrius Magnes, upon Concord. I should be glad if you would lend it to me. You see what subject I am considering.

Cn. Magnus, Proconsul, to Cicero, Imperator.

Q. FABIVS came to me the 29th of January. He brings information that L. Domitius with his own eleven cohorts, and fourteen cohorts which Vibullius has brought up, is on his way to join me: that he had intended to leave Corfinium the 13th of February; and that C. Hirrus with five cohorts would follow. I am of opinion you should come to me at Luceria; for here I think you will be in the greatest safety.

M. Cicero, Imperator, to Cn. Magnus, Proconsul.

I RECEIVED your letter at Formiæ the 15th of February, by which I understood that the transactions in Picenum were much more favorable, than had been represented to me; and it was with pleasure that I recognised the courage and diligence of Vibullius. On the coast, over which I have been placed, I have hitherto thought it right to have a ship in readiness: for what I hear, and what I apprehend, is of such a nature, as to make me think it my duty to follow whatever plan you should advise.

Now, since by your authority and counsel I am in better hope, if you think it possible to maintain Tarracina and the sea coast, I will continue there, although there are no garrisons in the towns. For there is nobody of condition in these parts, except M. Eppius, whom I have desired to remain at Minturnæ. He is an active and careful man. But L. Torquatus, who is a brave man, and in authority, is not at Formiæ: I imagine he is gone to you. I came to Capua, agreeably to your last instructions, the very day on which you left Teanum Sidicinum; for you had desired me together with M. Considius, the Proprætor, to take care of the affairs in that part. When I came thither, I found that T. Ampius was raising troops with great diligence, which were transferred to Libo, who had also great zeal and authority in the Colony. I remained at Capua as long as the Consuls; and came thither again the 5th of February, as the Consuls had appointed. After being there three days I came back to Formiæ. At present I am uncertain what is your intention, or what is your plan of conducting the war. If you think this coast should be maintained, as I think it may, there must be somebody to take the command: it possesses great convenience, and respectability, and has in it many distinguished citizens. But if all our forces are to be collected into one

place, I shall not hesitate to join you immediately; which I shall be very glad to do, as I told you the day I left the city. If I appear to any body to have been backward in this business, I do not regard it, provided I do not appear so to you: yet if, as I perceive, war must be waged, I trust I shall easily satisfy every body. I send to you M. Tullius, my confidential freedman, by whom, if you think fit, you may write to me.

Cn. Magnus, Proconsul, to M. Cicero, Imperator

I HOPE you are well. I read your letter with great satisfaction, and recognised also your former spirit in support of the common safety. The Consuls have joined the army which I have had in Apulia. I earnestly exhort you, by your distinguished and unceasing regard for the Republic, to come to us, that we may by our united counsels afford help and assistance to this afflicted state. I think you should travel by the Appian road, and reach Brundisium quickly.

M. Cicero, Imperator, to Cn. Magnus, Proconsul.

WHEN I wrote the letter which was delivered to you at Canusium, I had no suspicion that you would cross the sea for the service of the

Republic ; but was in great hope that we might in Italy either establish some agreement, which seemed to me very desirable, or with the highest dignity defend the Republic. In the mean time, before my letter could have reached you, understanding from the instructions which you sent to the Consuls by D. Lælius, what was your intention, I did not wait till I should hear from you, but immediately set out, with my brother Quintus, and our children, to join you in Apulia. When I came to Teanum Sidicinum, C. Massius your friend, and several others, informed me that Cæsar was on his way to Capua, and would stop at Esernia that very day. I was truly concerned, because if it were so, I considered not only that my road was intercepted, but that I was myself quite cut off from you. I therefore proceeded at that time to Cales, where I might remain till I should receive some certain information from Esernia about what I had heard. While I was at Cales there was brought to me a copy of the letter which you sent to the Consul Lentulus, saying that you had received one from L. Domitius the 17th of February, of which you subjoined a copy ; and that it was of great importance to the Republic, that all the forces should be collected into one place as soon as possible ; and directing him to leave a sufficient guard at Capua. Upon reading this letter I was of

the same opinion, as every body else, that you would proceed with all your forces to Corfinium. But as Cæsar had encamped before the town, I did not think it safe for me to go thither. While we remained in anxious expectation of the issue, we heard at one and the same time both what had happened at Corfinium, and that you had begun to make your way to Brundisium : and when I and my brother had determined to go to Brundisium, we were warned by many people, who came from Samnium and Apulia, to take care that we were not surprised by Cæsar ; for that he had set out for the same place to which we were going, and would reach his destination quicker than we could. Upon which neither I, nor my brother, nor any of our friends, thought it right to run the risk of injuring not merely ourselves, but the Republic, by our rashness ; especially as we had little doubt but that, if even the road were safe, yet we should not now be able to overtake you. In the mean time I received your letter of the 20th of February from Canusium, in which you beg that we would come quickly to Brundisium. This I received on the 27th, when I did not doubt but you would already have arrived at Brundisium. The road seemed to be quite elosed against us ; and ourselves to be taken as completely, as those who had gone to Corfinium : for I consider as taken, not only

those who have fallen into the hands of armed people, but those likewise, who are excluded from certain districts, and have come within the garrisons and posts of their enemies. In this state my first wish was, that I had always been with you, as I mentioned to you when I wanted to decline the command of Capua; which I did, not for the sake of avoiding the trouble, but because I saw that the city was incapable of being kept without an army, and I was unwilling to expose myself to the same accident, which I lament in the case of our brave friends.¹ But when I was prevented from being with you, I wish I could have been made acquainted with your designs: for it was impossible for me to guess them; as I should sooner have thought any thing, than that this cause of the Republic could not be maintained in Italy under your direction. I do not mean however to find fault with your determination; but I mourn over the fortune of the Republic; nor do I the less believe you to have acted with good reason, because I am unacquainted with your purpose. I am persuaded you remember what was always my opinion, first, respecting the maintaining peace, even upon unequal conditions; then respecting the city; for on the subject of Italy you never opened yourself to me. But I do not assume to myself

¹ Who were obliged to surrender themselves to Cæsar.

that my opinion ought to have prevailed: I adopted yours. And I did this, not for the Republic's sake, about which I despaired, rent as it now is, and incapable of being raised up without a ruinous civil war; but I sought you, and wished to be with you, and will not omit an opportunity of it, should any present. In all this business I was well aware that I should not give satisfaction to such as were eager for fighting: for, in the first place, I professed that I wished nothing more than peace: not but I feared the same consequences, as they did; but I esteemed even those to be more tolerable than a civil war. Then again, after the war was begun, when I found that conditions of peace were offered to you, and that you made an honorable and full reply to them, I formed my own determination, which I trusted, according to your usual kindness towards me, I should easily explain to your satisfaction. I recollected that I was one, who for my distinguished services to the Republic had been subjected to the saddest and most cruel sufferings; that I was one, who, if I had offended him,² to whom, even while we were in arms, there was granted a second consulate, and a most ample triumph, I should be again exposed to the same persecution; since the attacks of wicked men on my person seemed

² Cæsar.

always to have something of popularity. And this I was not forward to suspect, till it was openly threatened. Nor did I so much dread it, if it were necessary; as I thought it prudent to avoid it, if it could be done with honor. You see shortly the motives, by which I was actuated as long as there was any hope of peace. Circumstances have removed all power of doing any thing further. But I have a ready answer for those who are dissatisfied with me: for I have been no more a friend to C. Cæsar,³ than they; nor have they been more attached to the Republic, than I. The difference between us consists in this; that while they are excellent citizens, and I am not deficient in the same reputation, I preferred settling these disputes by treaty; which I understood to be your wish also; they by arms. And since this opinion has prevailed, I shall take care that neither the Republic may lose the affection of a citizen, nor you that of a friend.

LETTER XII.

THE weakness of my eyes is become more troublesome even than it was before: I determined however to dictate this, rather than send

³ Caius Julius Cæsar, the latter of which names are more familiar to the English reader.

no letter at all by Gallus Fabius, who is so much attached to us both. Yesterday I wrote myself, as well as I was able, with a prophecy, which I wish may prove false. The occasion of this letter is, not only that I may let no day pass without writing to you, but, what is a juster reason, that I may beg you to employ a little portion of your time (and it will not cost you much) to let me thoroughly understand your sentiments. I am still at liberty to choose what course I should adopt. Nothing has been neglected, which does not admit, not merely of a plausible, but a satisfactory excuse. For surely I have not done wrong in wishing to decline the proffered administration of Capua, that I might avoid any suspicion either of backwardness in raising troops, or of treachery; nor, after the conditions of peace brought by L. Cæsar and Fabatus, in taking care not to offend him, to whom Pompeius, while they were both in arms, had offered the consulship and a triumph. Neither can any body justly blame these last measures of not crossing the sea; which, though it was matter of consideration, yet it was not in my power to accomplish: nor ought I to have suspected such a step, especially as from Pompeius's own letter I concluded (and I perceive that you were of the same opinion) that he would go to support Domitius. And in truth I wanted a longer

time to determine what was right, and what I ought to do. In the first place then, though you have given me generally your opinion on this subject, yet I should be glad if you would write to me more particularly. In the next place, I wish you to look a little into futurity, and fancy to yourself the character I ought to support, and how you think I can be of most use to the Republic; whether there is any room for a pacific personage; or whether every thing rests with the military. I, who measure every thing by duty,¹ recollect however your advice;² which if I had followed, I should not have felt the miseries of those times. I remember what you then recommended through Theophanes and Culeo, and I often recollected it with regret. Now then at least let me revert to that estimation of things, which I formerly rejected; and consider not only what is glorious, but a little also what is expedient. But I prescribe nothing: I wish you to give me exactly your own opinion. I should be glad also if you would find out as correctly as you can (and you will meet with persons through whom you

¹ This alludes to the principles of the Academic sect, which Cicero followed.

² Atticus, in conformity with his own principles as an Epicurean, having recommended Cicero not to provoke hostility, at the time of Clodius's machinations, which ended in Cicero's banishment.

may do it) what our friend Lentulus, what Domitius is doing, or what he means to do; how they conduct themselves; whether they accuse, or are angry with any body. With any body, do I say? With Pompeius. Pompeius throws all the blame upon Domitius, as appears by his letter, of which I send you a copy. You will see after these matters; and, as I mentioned to you before, I should be obliged to you to send me the book which Demetrius Magnes presented to you upon Concord.

Cn. Magnus, Proconsul, to C. Marcellus¹ and L. Lentulus, Consuls.

As I considered that, while our troops were dispersed, we could neither render any service to the Republic, nor defend ourselves; therefore I wrote to L. Domitius first to come to me himself with his whole force; or if he doubted about himself, to send me the nineteen cohorts, which were on their way to me from Picenum. What I feared, has happened; that Domitius was hemmed in, without being strong enough to form an encampment; because he had my nineteen cohorts, and his own twelve, distributed in three different towns, having

¹ In the text it is M. Marcellus; but, as there can be little doubt of this being a mistake, I have taken the liberty of altering it.

placed part at Alba, and part at Sulmo; nor could he disengage them, if he would. I am now therefore in the greatest anxiety. For I wish to relieve so many valuable men from the hazard of a siege; and am unable to go to their assistance; for I do not think it safe to let these two legions be conducted thither; out of which I have not been able to collect more than fourteen² cohorts, having sent a garrison to Brundisium, and not thinking that Canusium ought to be left unprotected in my absence. I sent word to D. Lælius that I hoped to have an increase of force, so that if you thought well of it, one of you might join me; the other might go into Sicily with such troops as you have obtained at Capua, and in the neighbourhood; together with those which have been raised by Faustus; that Domitius with his twelve cohorts should proceed to the same destination; that all the remaining forces should be collected at Brundisium, and from thence should be transported in ships to Dyrrachium. Now, since at this time I am no more able, than you, to go to the assistance of Domitius, I must leave

² The complete legions contained ten cohorts, each cohort being divided into three manipuli, and each manipulus into two centuries. Had the numbers therefore been complete, which they seldom were, the legion would have contained 6000 men.

him to extricate³ himself through the mountains: I cannot suffer the enemy to attack these fourteen cohorts, which I have in a doubtful disposition; or to come up with me in my march. On which account I have thought it right (and I find that Marcellus, and the rest of our order who are here, are of the same opinion) to conduct the force I have with me to Brundisium. I beg you to collect whatever soldiers you can, and to come to the same place as soon as possible. I think you may distribute among the men which you have with you, the arms you were going to send me. You will confer a great service on the Republic by transporting the supernumerary arms on beasts of burden to Brundisium. I should be glad if you would give notice to my people upon this subject. I have sent to the Prætors, P. Lupus and C. Coponius, to join me, and to conduct to you what troops they possessed.

Cn. Magnus, Proconsul, to Domitius, Proconsul.

I AM surprised that you have not written to me, and that all information about the Republic should come to me from others, rather than from you. While our troops are dispersed, it

³ The passage in the original is defective. I have given what I suppose to be the true meaning.

is impossible for us to be equal to our adversaries. With our forces united I hope we may be of service to the Republic, and to the common safety. When therefore you had determined, as Vibullius wrote me word, to leave Corfinium the 9th of February with the army, and to come to me, I wonder what should have caused you to change your mind. For, the reason, which Vibullius mentions, is of little weight; that you had heard of Cæsar's having left Firmum, and being arrived at Castrum Truentinum. For the nearer the enemy approached, the more expeditiously ought you to have acted, in order to join me before Cæsar could obstruct your road, or cut off the communication between us. . . . Therefore I beg and intreat you again and again, as I have not ceased to do in my former letters, to come to Luceria on the earliest day, before Cæsar can bring together into one place the forces which he purposed to collect, and separate us from each other. . . . Or if you meet with impediments from some, who would save their own troops; at least it is reasonable that I should desire you would send me those cohorts, which are come from Picenum and Camarinum, and have left their own fortunes. . . .

Cn. Magnus, Proconsul, to Domitius, Proconsul.

M. CALENIUS brought me your letter the 18th of February, in which you say that you mean to observe Cæsar's motions; and if he should attempt to come towards me by the sea coast, that you will immediately join me in Samnium; or if he should loiter about those parts, that you are disposed to resist him, whenever he comes within your reach. I have a just sense of your spirit and courage in this determination; but we must take great care that our forces are not so divided as to render us unequal to our adversary, who has already a great many troops, and will shortly have more. For with your usual prudence you ought to consider not only how many cohorts Cæsar can at present bring against you; but what numbers of cavalry and infantry he will in a short time collect. This is confirmed by a letter which I have received from Bussenius, in which he says, what I have heard also from others,¹ that Curio is collecting the garrisons from Umbria and Tuscany, and proceeding to join Cæsar. If these forces should unite, and part should be sent to Alba, part should come

¹ I have translated this, as if it were written *aliis*, instead of *illis*; for this, I doubt not, is the proper reading.

against you; without fighting, but only defending themselves in their quarters, you will be embarrassed, and unable alone to resist such numbers with your present force, so as to admit of your foraging. For these reasons I strongly advise you to come hither as soon as possible with your whole force. The Consuls have determined to do the same. I sent you advice by Metuscilius, that it was necessary to prevent my two legions from being brought to face Cæsar without the Picentine cohorts. You must not therefore be uneasy, if you should hear of my retreating, in case Cæsar comes towards me; as I think it right to provide against the embarrassment of being surrounded. For I can neither form a camp, owing to the season of the year, and the disposition of the soldiers; nor can I safely bring together the troops out of all the towns, for fear of having my retreat cut off. I have therefore collected at Luceria not more than fourteen cohorts. The Consuls will either bring all the garrisons; or will go into Sicily. For it is expedient either to have a strong army, with which we may rely upon breaking through the enemy; or else to get possession of such countries, in which we can defend ourselves: neither of which is at present the case: for Cæsar is already master of a great part of Italy; and his army is superior both in appointments and

numbers, to mine. We must therefore take care to pay the utmost attention to the Republic. I beg you again and again to come to me as soon as possible with all your forces. We may yet raise up the Republic, if we unite our counsels in conducting the business: but if we are disunited, we must be weak. Such is my ultimate opinion.

Since writing this, Sica has brought me your letter and instructions. Respecting your wish that I should go to you, I do not consider it possible for me to do it, because I have no great confidence in these legions.

Cn. Magnus, Proconsul, to Domitius, Proconsul.

I RECEIVED your letter the 17th of February, in which you inform me that Cæsar has pitched his camp before Corfinium. What I supposed, and forewarned you, has happened; that he does not wish at present to engage in battle with you; but that he will collect together all his forces, and hamper you so, as to prevent your joining me, and uniting those troops of the best citizens, with these legions, whose disposition is doubtful; which makes me the more concerned at your account. For I cannot sufficiently rely upon the disposition of the soldiers whom I have with me, to risk the whole fortune of the Republic; nor have those joined,

who have been enrolled by the Consuls out of the levies. Therefore try if by any means you can even now manage to extricate yourself, that you may come hither as soon as possible, before all the adversary's forces are united. For men cannot very quickly arrive here from the levies; and if they did, it does not escape you, how little they can be trusted against veteran legions, while they are not so much as known to each other.

LETTER XIII.

THE hand writing of a clerk will shew you that my eyes are not yet well; and the same cause will make me short; though at present I have nothing to tell you. My only expectation is in the news from Brundisium. If Cæsar should have come up with our friend Cnæus, the hope of peace is very doubtful; but if he should have past over first, there is danger of a destructive war. But do you perceive with what a man the Republic has to do? how acute? how vigilant? how ready? If forsooth he puts nobody to death, and plunders nobody, he will be most loved by the very people who were most afraid of him. I have a good deal of conversation with the towns people, and with those from

the country; they care absolutely about nothing but their fields, and their pleasure houses, and their pelf. See how things are changed. Him, on whom they once relied, they fear; and they love this man, whom they used to dread. I cannot without grief reflect upon the errors and misconduct of our party, through which this has happened. I told you what dangers I apprehended. I am in expectation of hearing from you.

LETTER XIV.

I AM afraid my daily letters must be troublesome to you, especially as I can send you no news, nor indeed find any new subject to write upon. And if I were expressly to send messengers to you about nothing at all, I should act absurdly; but when people are going, particularly my own servants, I cannot suffer them to go without writing something to you. Besides, believe me, I feel some relief in these miseries, while I talk, as it were with you; and still more when I read your letters. I think indeed there has been no time since this flight and trepidation, when this intercourse of letters could with more propriety be interrupted; as nothing new is heard at Rome; nor

in these parts, which are two or three days nearer to Brundisium, than you are. It is at Brundisium that all the struggle of this first season passes. I am distracted with anxiety about the event. But I shall know all before you: for I find that Cæsar set out from Corfinium on the afternoon of the same day, on which Pompeius set out in the morning from Canusium, that is the 21st of February. But such is the manner of Cæsar's march, and with such allowances does he urge the speed of his soldiers, that I dread his getting to Brundisium sooner than is to be wished. You will say, "what good is there in anticipating the distress of such an event, which in three days you will know?" There is none indeed. But, as I said before, I love to converse with you. Besides, you must know that I begin to waver in my opinion, which seemed to be already fixed. For the authorities,¹ which you approve, are not satisfactory to me. For what have they ever done to distinguish themselves in the Republic? or who expects from them any thing praise-worthy? Not that I mean to applaud those, who have crossed the sea for the purpose of increasing the preparations for war; however intolerable may be the present state of affairs; for I see how great, and how

¹ M. Lepidus, L. Volcatius Tullus. Book VIII. Letter I. and IX.

ruinous the war must be. But I am influenced by regard for an individual, to whom it seems due that I should be a companion in his flight, and an assistant in restoring the Republic. "So often then do you change your mind?" I converse with you, as with myself; and who is there but in a ease of such moment argues variously with himself? at the same time I wish to elicit your opinion; that if it is still the same, I may be the more determined; if it is changed, that I may assent to it. It is of importance to the subject of my doubt, to know what Domitius will do, and what our friend Lentulus. We have various reports about Domitius; sometimes, that he is at Tibertum, or at Lepidus's house; or that Lepidus is gone with him to the city; which I find is not true; for Lepidus says that it is uncertain where he is gone, and that he does not know whether his object be to conceal himself, or to reach the sea. He is equally ignorant about his son. He adds, what is distressing, that a large sum of money, which Domitius had at Corfinium, has never been delivered to him. We hear nothing of Lentulus. I should be glad if you could find out these things, and let me know.

LETTER XV.

ON the 3d of March, Ægypta delivered to me two letters from you; one an old one, dated February 26, which you mention to have given to Pinarius, whom I have not seen. In this you express your anxiety to know what has been done by Vibullius, who was sent on¹ before. But Cæsar has not so much as seen him. In another letter I perceive that you are aware of this. You desire also to know how I receive Cæsar on his return: but I mean to avoid him altogether. You mention besides, that you meditate a Hæmonian flight,² and a change of your life; which I think you must adopt: also that you are uncertain whether Domitius has his fasces³ with him; but as soon as you know, you will inform me. You have my reply to

¹ Vibullius was of Pompeius's party, was taken by Cæsar at Corfinium, and thence dispatched to Pompeius with proposals of peace, which the latter disregarding never sent back Vibullius at all.

² The text is probably corrupt. It appears to be copied from Atticus's own expression in allusion to some story that has been lost. It may be believed that he meant to signify a design of retiring into Epirus.

³ Domitius had been nominated to succeed Cæsar in Gaul. If he had the fasces carried before him, it would be a mark of his assuming the authority in opposition to Cæsar.

your first letter. There are two subsequent ones, both dated the 28th of February, which have plucked me from my former resolution,⁴ in which, as I before wrote to you, I was already wavering. What you say, “that Jupiter himself forbids it,”⁵ has no weight with me. For there is danger in displeasing either party: and the superiority is still uncertain, though the worse cause has the appearance of being best provided. I am not moved either by the Consuls, who are themselves more easily moved than a leaf, or a feather. It is the consideration of my duty, that distracts me, and has done from the beginning. It is certainly safer to remain; but more honorable to cross the sea. At the same time I would rather many should think I had acted imprudently, than a few dishonorably. As to what you ask about Lepidus and Tullus; it is not doubted⁶ but

⁴ Persuading him now to leave Italy, contrary to the determination he had once formed.

⁵ These words are no doubt copied from Atticus's own expression: the meaning probably is, that the cause of the Republic seemed to be abandoned by the Gods.

⁶ I have interpreted this sentence as if the words *non dubitant* were independent of *illi*, which latter word I conceive to be connected with *futuri sint*. “People do not doubt but they will join Cæsar.” For this interpretation of *dubitant*, See Book iv. Letter III. note 10. Otherwise it appears very harsh to say that they did not themselves doubt but they should join him, &c.

they will present themselves to Cæsar, and will go into the Senate. Your last letter is dated the first of March, in which you wish for a meeting,⁷ and do not despair of peace. But while I write this, I neither believe they will meet; nor, if they did, that Pompeius would agree to any terms. You seem to entertain no doubt of what I ought to do, provided the Consuls should cross the sea: they certainly cross it, or as things are now, have already crossed. But observe, that, except Appius, there is scarcely any body who has not a right to do so.⁸ For they either have some command, as Pompeius, as Scipio, Setenas, Fannius, Voconius, Sestius, and the Consuls themselves, who have by ancient custom the privilege of visiting all the provinces; or they are lieutenants under these. But I do not wish to argue the point. I see what is your opinion, and am pretty well satisfied on the subject of my duty. I would write more, if I could do it myself:⁹ I shall be better able two days hence. I send you a copy of Balbus Corne-

⁷ Between Cæsar and Pompeius. Letter ix.

⁸ The Senators were not at liberty to quit Italy but upon some public duty.

⁹ He was probably prevented by the infirmity of his eyes, which he hoped a few days would now entirely remove.

lius's letter, which I received the same day as yours, that you may pity my condition when you see me thus mocked.¹⁰

Balbus to Cicero, Imperator.

UNDERTAKE, I entreat you, Cicero, the care and consideration most becoming your high character, of bringing back again to their former harmony Cæsar and Pompeius, who have been torn asunder by the perfidy of certain persons. Believe me, Cæsar will not only put himself in your power, but will esteem it a great favor conferred upon him, if you apply yourself to this business. I should be glad if Pompeius would do the same; though I rather wish, than expect, that he can be brought to any terms at such a time. But when he has stopped his flight, and laid aside his fears, I shall begin not to despair of the influence your authority may have with him. Cæsar is pleased, and I am most particularly so, with your wishing my friend Lentulus the Consul to remain here. For I have that regard for him, that I do not love Cæsar better. If he had suffered me to talk with him, as I used to do; and had not wholly rejected my conversation; I should be less uneasy, than I am. Do not imagine that at this time any body is more vexed, than I,

¹⁰ Flattered with mock respect.

when I see him, whom I love more than myself, conducting himself in his Consulate like any thing rather than a Consul. But if he will be ruled by you, and will take my word about Cæsar, and spend the remaining part of his Consulate in Rome; I shall begin to entertain hope, that by the récommendation even of the Senate, upon your authority and at his motion, Pompeius and Cæsar may be united. If this is accomplished, I shall think I have lived long enough. I am sure you must approve of Cæsar's whole conduct respecting Corfinium; as in such a business it could not terminate more favorably, than by being effected without bloodshed. I am glad you were pleased with the arrival of mine and your friend Balbus.¹ All that he has told you about Cæsar, or that Cæsar has written, I am persuaded, whatever turn his affairs may take, he will prove to you by his conduct that he has written in great sincerity.

LETTER XVI.

EVERY thing is ready for me, excepting a road to conduct me in secrecy, and safety, to the Adriatic sea. For I cannot take advantage of

¹ Balbus the younger (Letter ix.), nephew to him who writes this letter.

the sea here,¹ at this season of the year. But how shall I get thither, where my inclination leads me, and circumstances call me? For it is necessary to set out speedily, that I may not meet with some obstacle to stop me. Yet my inducement to go, is not he,² whom one might suppose; whom I have long known to be a bad politician, and now find to be also a bad general. It is not he therefore that influences me; but the talk of the world, of which I am informed by Philotimus. He says that I am reproached by all the principal people. Ye Gods! by what principal people? By those who are running to meet, and to sell themselves to Cæsar? The towns salute him as a God. And they do not dissemble, as when they put up vows for Pompeius in his sickness: but whatever this Pisistratus³ has not inflicted, is as much a subject of gratitude, as if he had prevented some other person from inflicting it. This man⁴ they hope to propitiate; the other⁵ they think exasperated. What greetings do you think are made from the towns? What honors? "They are afraid," you will say. I believe it: but they are more afraid of the other.⁶ They are delighted with Cæsar's insidious cle-

¹ The Mediterranean washing the Southern coast of Italy, from whence Cicero writes.

² Pompeius.

³ Cæsar.

⁴ Cæsar.

⁵ Pompeius.

⁶ Pompeius.

mency: they dread Pompeius's anger. The 850 judges,⁷ who were particularly attached to our Cnæus, some of whom I see every day, dread certain threats of his at Luceria.⁸ I ask again then, who are these principal people, who would drive me out, while they remain themselves at home? Nevertheless, whoever they are, "I respect the Trojans."⁹ At the same time I know what I have to hope; and go to join one, who is better prepared to lay waste Italy, than to conquer it; in short, whom I expect—indeed while I am writing this, March 2d, I am expecting to hear something from Brundisium. What something? How shamefully he¹⁰ has run away from thence; and whither, and by what road this conqueror¹¹ returns. Which when I have ascertained, if he comes by the Appian road, I think of going to Arpinum.

⁷ The number of judges varied at different times. They were chosen annually from the three different orders of citizens; and corresponded more nearly to our jurymen, than to our judges.

⁸ The apprehension of a proscription. See Letter xi.

⁹ See Book vii. Letter xii. and Book ii. Letter v.

¹⁰ Pompeius.

¹¹ Cæsar.









